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Thomas Palmer

A
JOURNAL
DURING A RESIDENCE IN FRANCE,
FROM THE
BEGINNING OF AUGUST,
TO THE
MIDDLE OF DECEMBER, 1792.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST REMARKABLE EVENTS
THAT HAPPENED AT PARIS FROM THAT TIME TO
THE DEATH OF THE LATE KING OF FRANCE.

BY JOHN MOORE, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Opus opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa
etiam pace sævum.

TACIT.

L O N D O N:
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Work has been so much retarded by unexpected incidents, that the First Volume only could be published at present. The Second will appear soon.

A

JOURNAL, &c.

BEFORE I was twenty-one years of age, I resided for two years at Paris. I afterwards made a tour into Flanders, and returned through France, some time previous to my accompanying the Duke of Hamilton to that and other countries of Europe.

On all those occasions, the affability, the ease, and peculiar gaiety of the French nation left a very pleasing impression on my mind, and I often regretted that a peo-

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B

ple

ple so formed for enjoying and communicating happiness, should labour under the oppression of an arbitrary government, and unequal laws.

I often said, How supremely happy would a people of such dispositions be, were they to obtain a system of government as free and impartial as that which Great Britain has enjoyed since the Revolution!

From the moment, indeed, that I had any opportunity of observing how much human nature is exposed to be insulted and degraded, from the want of this blessing, I had most earnestly wished it to every country of the globe; and when the Revolution took place in France, in the year 1789, I rejoiced in the hopes that so extensive and populous a portion of Europe would acquire it.

With such sentiments, it was natural for me to have a desire of visiting the same people in a state of freedom, whose com-

plicated oppressions I had so often lamented under their former government.

A very agreeable opportunity of accomplishing this desire was proposed to me last summer by the Earl of Lauderdale, with whom I had the happiness of being acquainted from his early youth, and whose father had long honoured me with his friendship.

His Lordship's ill state of health rendered a few months residence in a mild climate highly expedient. His plan was, after a short stay at Paris, to proceed farther South; and to make it still more acceptable to me, he was so obliging as to invite the only one of my sons who had not been in France, to be of the party.

We embarked at Dover on the morning of the fourth of August, and in a few hours arrived at Calais, where I began the following Journal.

B 2

August

August 4, 1792.

ON our arrival at Calais, we were conducted to the Town-house, where a circumstantial description of our features and persons was inserted in our passports for Paris.

August 5.

Lord Lauderdale's delicate state of health did not permit us to go farther than Abbeville this day.

The inhabitants of this country appear as gay as ever, notwithstanding the formidable armies now prepared to attack them. —At one village, near which we changed horses, about fifty or sixty peasants were dancing cotillons on a green plain under the shade of trees: they discovered no fear of Austrians or Prussians, nor did *care* of any kind seem to disturb their minds: I thought them equally cheerful, and rather better dressed than I ever observed the peasants of this part of France before: it
is

is Sunday, and of course they are all in their best clothes. In the higher ranks, in every country, it is not uncommon to see people richly dressed with very sorrowful countenances. I do not recollect to have ever met with any French people of the lower order, male or female, in town or country, with a sorrowful face, when they imagined themselves well dressed.

The last time I was at Abbeville, I read an inscription on a column in one of the churches, respecting the Chevalier La Bar, who was executed in this town on account of some indignity he was accused of having shewn to an old wooden image of the Virgin, which stood on the bridge. He was said to have wounded it in the shoulder with his *couteau de chasse*, as he staggered from a tavern, in company with a set of young men as thoughtless and intoxicated as himself. This piece of *étourderie*, which might with propriety have

been punished by some weeks imprisonment, occasioned a greater alarm, about thirty years ago, in this town and its neighbourhood, than the march of the German armies at present. Although the wound in the image was but slight, the Virgin was supposed to be mortally offended: many prayers and processions were made to expiate the offence. After all, some, who judged of her disposition by their own, took pains to persuade the people that nothing would satisfy her, or avert the vengeance of Heaven, but the life of the Chevalier La Bar—A criminal process was carried on with the hottest zeal, and a sentence obtained against him.

The unhappy youth was beheaded accordingly, and an account of the whole transaction was inscribed in letters of gold in the principal church, for the instruction of posterity. Of late, however, this inscription has been removed, which has
given

given offence, I understand, to the zealous people of this place.

While we were at supper, the landlord of the inn read us part of a letter which he had just received from Paris, giving an account of petitions that had been read in the National Assembly, requiring a declaration of the Dechéance, that is, of the King's having forfeited the crown. We expressed surprise at this, and I asked the landlord what he thought of it? "Mais* ma foi, Monsieur," said he, with emphasis and gesticulation—and then pausing, he turned the answer into a question, saying, "† Que voulez-vous qu'on pense, Monsieur?" This was the amount of the landlord's opinion, which he never varied, though he spoke several times afterwards on the same subject.

* 'Faith, Sir.

† What would you have me to think?

Clermont, August 6.

We met many carriages with people flying from Paris : wherever we stopped, or had any opportunity of conversing with them, they gave an alarming account of the state of that city, and were surprised at our thinking of going there at this time. They all seemed to be impressed with the notion that an important event is about to happen.

One man said, that certain people had been of late engaged in a conspiracy which would break out *on the ninth of this month*. We could not help smiling at the notion of a conspiracy which was so well known beforehand, and considered his apprehensions as groundless.

I asked, however, of a genteel looking man who had just arrived at this place in the Diligence, whether he thought there was any danger in being at Paris ? " Pas le moindre,"

moindre *," answered he. They talk, said I, of dethroning the King. " Tant pis pour lui," said the man ; " mais cela ne vous regarde pas †." To hear a Frenchman talk with so much indifference of dethroning a King, however petty the Monarch might be, was what I did not expect ; but to hear him speak with the same indifference of dethroning his own King, that, I confess, astonished me. I remember the time when the most dreadful convulsion of nature would have been considered in France as of less importance, and would have occasioned less alarm.

Paris, Aug. 7.

We left Clermont early this morning, and were too impatient to get to Paris, to stop long at Chantilly, which, besides, wears at present a less inviting aspect than it used to

* Not the least.

† So much the worse for him, but that is nothing to you,

do.

do. While the horses were changing, I asked a poor fellow in rags, who assisted the postillion, if the People wished for the return of the Prince.

All the poor do, said the man.

He was very charitable then ? said I.

“ * Charitable comme un autre,” replied the man, “ mais il étoit riche comme mille.”

It would be unfortunate for the country then, said I, if his vast estate should ever be divided among a thousand proprietors ?

“ † Ouida pour les pauvres assurément,” replied he, “ parceque c’est des bontés des Princes et des Grands que les pauvres vivent.”

Finding the reasoning of this philosopher unanswerable, I took my leave of him, and proceeded to Paris, where we arrived about

* Charitable like another man—but as rich as a thousand.

† Yes assuredly, for the poor, because it is through the bounty of Princes and Lords that the poor live.

two

two o'clock, at the Hotel de Moscovie, in the fauxbourg St. Germain. After dinner we drove to the gardens of the Palais Royal, which swarmed with people of all sorts, who had as little the air of apprehension of an approaching enemy, and less the air of anxiety of any kind than those we left on crossing the Channel—the Piazzas resounded with various kinds of musical instruments, and the voices of those who sung as they walked or danced along. I asked a shopkeeper if they had received any *very good* news from the Frontiers. “Rien, Monsieur,” answered he, “depuis le Manifeste de Brunswick *.”

From the Palais Royal we went to the National Assembly. Here the scene was not so gay : the debate was carried on with a degree of violence which I have hardly ever seen equalled ; yet the subject,

* Nothing, answered he, since Brunswick's Manifesto.

while

while I staid, was not of a nature which one could have expected would much inflame the passions--it regarded certain bells which they proposed to coin into money.

After being informed of what had passed at Paris a few days before our arrival, we had more reason to be surpris'd at the easy air and gaiety of the inhabitants, than at the alarm of those we met on the road hurrying from this city.

On the third of this month, M. Dejoly, the Minister of Justice, delivered a message to the National Assembly from the King, respecting the Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, although his Majesty declares at the same time, that in his opinion the Manifesto does not bear sufficient marks of authenticity.---He asserts, that he had been averse to the war, and had adopted that measure only in compliance with the unanimous opinion of his Council ; but, that since

since the declaration of war he had neglected no measure to insure its success; that his efforts would augment in proportion to the urgency of events; and that he would act in concert with the Assembly, to render the evils inseparable from war, profitable for the liberty and honour of the nation---with many other patriotic expressions.

On its being moved, that this message from the King should be ordered to be printed, which is the usual mark of respect shewn by the Assembly to the addresses or petitions it approves, the motion was opposed. One of the members observed, that it was not by *words*, but by *actions*, that the King should prove his love of liberty and the constitution.

M. Isnard went farther; he offered "to prove that what the King asserted was not true." He was interrupted, not so much on account of the indecency of this expression,

sion, as because he wandered from the question in debate, which was, whether the King's letter ought to be printed or not.—

It was observed, that what he had said was precisely in point, because, if he proved that the contents of the letter were not true, it followed that it ought not to be printed.

Isnard then said, “ That when fanatical priests had attempted to kindle a civil war, the Assembly had proposed repressive decrees, which the King had refused to sanction.

“ That he had dismissed the patriotic ministers who possessed the confidence of the nation ; that he must have been acquainted for more than a year with the treaty of Pilnitz, yet he had taken no measure to defeat it, or to procure allies for France ; that the ministers had promised to have 150,000 men ready to act ; and yet, although war was declared, nothing near that number was levied, and those who were, had not
been

been properly armed; and that every measure had been taken to render the enemy's attack on France successful."

Another member said, "That the only thing which had determined the King to send the message was, that he knew that the majority of the sections were about to address the Assembly to divest him of the crown."

After a warm debate, the letter from his Majesty was *not* ordered to be printed.

On the same day Petion, the mayor of Paris, at the head of a deputation of the common council, and attended by a great number of citizens from the different sections, came to the bar of the Assembly, and presented an address of a very extraordinary nature.

It began by expressions of sorrow for the necessity of accusing the Chief of the executive power, and proceeded to declare, "that although the people have great reason to be
enraged

enraged against Lewis the Sixteenth, yet as the appearance of anger does not become power, they will use the language of moderation." In this language of *moderation*, therefore, all that his enemies ever accused the King of previous to his accepting of the constitution, was minutely enumerated, accompanied by a declaration that all those crimes were obliterated, and covered by the pardon granted by the people. But the addressers declare, that they cannot help mentioning the King's ingratitude to a people who have behaved so generously to him. "What right had he (say they) to expect they would replace him on the throne, after he had attempted to fly from France that he might reign at Coblenz? Could he found his expectation on his descent from a race of kings, among twenty of which there was hardly one tolerable? Yet the nation had forgiven all, and restored the crown to him, since which moment he had never
 ceased

ceased to conspire against the freedom of his country; that an army of traitors, led by his brothers, invaded France; that to avenge the cause of Lewis the Sixteenth, the execrable House of Austria desires to add a new page to the history of its crimes, and, adopting the horrid idea of Caligula, wishes at one blow to strike off the heads of all the good citizens of France."

After more in the same strain, the address concludes with requesting, "that the King be decreed to have forfeited the crown; that the government be put into the hands of patriotic ministers named by the people, till a National Convention be assembled."

These being the terms in which those citizens address their King when they are calm, I should like to know what language they make use of when they are in a rage.

The address however, such as it was, gained the loudest applause of the people in the galleries.

The following day an address from the section of Mauconseil was read in the Assembly—in this, six hundred persons of that section declare, “ that they have conceived the noble design of assuming their rights, of restoring liberty, and destroying despotism. Too long (they say) has a detestable tyrant ruled over us: without troubling ourselves with enumerating his crimes, let us break this Colossus of despotism to pieces, and may the noise of his fall reach to the uttermost parts of the earth, and make every tyrant grow pale !”

It must be acknowledged that this noble design of six hundred persons of the section of Mauconseil is a pretty bold one, and as boldly expressed. It would seem that some members of a more tender conscience than the rest, had scruples about the oath of fidelity they had sworn to the King: those are removed by the penner of this curious address with wonderful facility; to break an oath,

oath, or to break the Colossus of despotism, seems equally easy to him.

“ Let us break,” cried he, “ the oath we have taken.”

“ Le parjure est vertu, quand on a juré un crime.”

The applause which this address received, was intermixed with a good deal of laughter. That some mad enthusiast should write a foolish paper, and get six hundred idle people to sign it, must be owned, is no sure indication of the public mind. Yet such a paper being allowed to be read in the National Assembly, is a proof that the disposition of a considerable number, at least, of this body is not friendly to the King.

Which appeared more evidently on the sixth, when a tumultuous crowd came from the Champ de Mars, with a roll of parchment signed by a great number of people of all the sections. This parchment had lain for eight days on the altar which was

built for the ceremony of the fœderation, and was then brought to the door of the Assembly as a petition, by a mob of both sexes. After some opposition, it was ordered that twenty of them should be admitted to the bar. While this petition was read, one carried a pole crowned with a red cap, inscribed with these words, * *Destruction du pouvoir persécuteur*.

And the following words beneath, † *Appel au Peuple*.

These inscriptions excited the indignation of the Assembly; and they were ordered to be torn off before the petition was read. The petition was of a most incendiary nature, and the reading took near an hour.

These violent scenes sufficiently prove the heats and animosities which exist, and account for a number of people retiring

* Destruction to the persecuting power.

† Appeal to the People.

from

from Paris from the dread of some still greater disorder.

August 8.

A debate of great expectation took place this day in the National Assembly—A committee of twelve members were some time since appointed to deliberate on the conduct of M. de la Fayette.—Jean de Brie made the report, in which he greatly blamed the conduct of the General, in having calumniated and menaced the National Assembly; in having had the design to march his army against Paris; and in having assumed unconstitutional power; and the reporter concluded by proposing a decree of accusation.

The discourse of Jean de Brie was greatly applauded by the audience in the tribunes. M. Vaublanc made an able and eloquent defence of the General's conduct; but when he proposed the previous question to Jean de Brie's motion, the people in the galleries raised the most violent exclamations and

murmurs, which were, however, balanced by the applause of the majority of the Assembly.

Brissot spoke next, and added new force to the reasoning of Jean de Brie. When the decree of accusation was put to the vote, it was rejected by a majority of near 200.

This occasioned fresh murmurs in the galleries, and violent agitation in the Assembly.

As this was considered as a trial of strength between the parties, it is to be presumed that the majority of the Assembly is with the Court; and that in future debates it will rather augment than diminish, as is usually the case in the British Houses of Parliament after a very great majority in favour of either party. The minority however seem to have the people with them. I am told indeed that those noisy people in the galleries are hired; but this does not account to me for the cry being all on one side.

side. The partisans of the Court, one would imagine, might hire applauders as well as the others.

August 9.

I was informed late last night, that the great majority which voted in favour of La Fayette had excited rage and indignation among the partisans of opposition, which they manifested in the most open and alarming manner; that this victory, so far from discouraging them from new attempts against the Court, seemed to prompt them to greater excesses than ever; and that several members who had opposed his being accused, had been grossly insulted as they went from the Assembly; and some of them, particularly M. Vaublanc, had narrowly escaped assassination. I was informed at the same time, that new addresses were to be presented this day, requiring the *dechéance*, or at least the suspension of the King's power during the war, and that this extraordinary

question would be debated in the Assembly to-day.

I went to the National Assembly this morning about nine. The tribunes, and all the places allotted for strangers, were full. I understood that an address had been read, as I was entering, from some town, the name of which I forget, demanding the dechéance.

A very noisy discussion occupied the Assembly, arising from that and other proposals, which I could not hear distinctly for a considerable time; but I understood that it was proposed to suspend the King's authority during the whole time that the debate on the subject of the dechéance continued; for it is allowed that the question requires some days deliberation, and a decree was proposed, consisting of several articles, for that purpose. But before these could be taken into consideration, M. Merlet, the president, informed the Assembly, that he had received
a number

a number of letters from members, which he desired might be read.

In one, the writer complains " of having been attacked in the street the preceding night by a number of men in the dress of the national guards, and grossly insulted; that he had informed them of his being a member of the Assembly, and had shewn them the ribbon which the deputies wear: on which one of them answered, that it was precisely for that reason, and his having spoken and voted in favour of the traitor La Fayette, that they would put him to death; which when they were preparing to do, he had been saved by a grenadier and some citizens."

Another member wrote, "that he had been attacked in the same manner; that one man had actually seized and lifted him from the ground, while those around called out *à la lanterne.*"

At this the people in the galleries applauded,

plauded, evidently signifying that they should have rejoiced if the threat had been completely executed.

This indecent behaviour in the audience threw the Court party into such a paroxysm of rage, that they started from the benches, rushed in a body towards the seat occupied by the president, extending their arms, and requiring that the insolence of the people in the galleries should be checked and prevented.

I expected of course that the galleries would be cleared, and was more provoked than before at the intolerable impertinence of the people.

I expressed my fears to the person next me. “ * Soyez tranquille, Monsieur,” said he, “ et ne bougez pas.”

Indeed I was soon convinced that the people in the galleries were more likely to

* Be you at your ease, Sir, and do not move.

thrust

thrust out the members, than that the members would expel them. For although some of the deputies shook their hands in a threatening manner at the people in the tribunes, those threats and gestures only provoked laughter.

A third letter gave an account "that several deputies had been obliged to take refuge in a corps de garde, from the fury of certain persons who had followed and abused them as they went home from the Assembly; that these persons were not citizens of Paris, but strangers, fédérés, as was supposed, hired for the purpose of insulting particular members pointed out to them; that the corps de garde was on the point of being forced by these persons, when the members made their escape by a back window."

Another letter informed the Assembly, "that a deputy having gone for refuge into a shop in the Rue St. Honoré, one of the fédérés had followed him, and declared, that

that if he ever saw him attempt to return to the Assembly, he would strike off his head with a stroke of his sabre, which he drew half out of the scabbard as he spoke."

When mention was made in the former letter of the deputy's escaping by the window of the corps de garde, it excited some mirth in the galleries; but at the idea of one of their heads being cut off, I thought there would have been no end of exultation: there was a loud and universal peal of laughter from all the galleries.

And the members on one side of the hall were as violent in expressing their indignation. Some called out to the president to put an end to the meeting; others proposed that it should be immediately decreed, that the National Assembly should withdraw from Paris to some other town in France, where they could deliberate in safety, and free from insult.

The noise and disorder were excessive:
fifty

fifty members were vociferating at once: I never was witness to a scene so tumultuous; the bell, as well as the voice of the president, was drowned in a storm, compared to which, the most boisterous night I ever was witness to in the House of Commons, was calm.

When with much difficulty, and a great deal of ringing and gesticulation, the president could be heard, he announced to the Assembly, that he was just informed by two members, that a number of armed men surrounded the hall. On which a member proposed, that proper measures should be immediately taken for the security of the Legislative Body.

But two members having stepped out to ascertain the fact, returned, and declared that, although there were a number of citizens at the doors, none were armed except the guard of the Assembly.

On which a tumult of another kind arose;

the president was loudly, and not in a very respectful manner, required to name those who had given this false information, and calumniated the worthy and peaceable citizens of Paris.

The president, who seemed to me not to be at all at his ease, answered, with a little hesitation, that he did not know the members who gave him the information.

One of those who had given the information then stood up and said, that he had seen men armed with sabres in the corridors; that some also had pistols, of which he thought it his duty to acquaint the president.

There was a cry against those who had calumniated the people. Some called out to send the member prisoner to the Abbaye; and one part of the Assembly seemed infinitely more inclined to punish those who had given this information, than those who

had insulted, abused, and threatened their colleagues.

La Croix exclaimed, " that they wished to have a pretext for transferring the Assembly to Rouen, and for that purpose asserted that the hall was surrounded with armed men, that the public might believe that the deputies had not full liberty of deliberating and voting."

But how can men be thought to deliberate or vote with freedom, who are pursued, insulted, and menaced by a mob for the opinions and votes they give?

After it had been insisted on for some time with violence, that the two members who had given the erroneous information should be sent for three days to the Abbaye, that measure was dropped, and a letter was read from Dejoly, the minister of justice, informing the Assembly that the people were continually instigated to violence and to murder, by agitators hired for the purpose,

pose, and by placards on the walls: he then enumerated the insults the deputies had suffered the foregoing evening, and that he had denounced some persons suspected of these excesses to the criminal tribunal, by orders from the King.

The moment the King was mentioned, the tribunes resounded with laughter, and hooting in the most indecent manner.

After these had in some measure ceased, the conclusion of the minister's letter was read, declaring, " that unless some effectual means of repressing those disorders were adopted, it would be impossible for the government to be answerable for the safety of either the lives or property of the citizens."

A member ascended the tribune and declared, " that as he was going out of the hall last night, but being still within the walls, and walking through the passage, he was violently struck by a person unknown."

A voice

A voice was heard demanding, on what part?

This interruption raised great indignation on one side of the hall. "I am asked," resumed the member, "on what part I was struck. I answer, Behind: it is only from behind that assassins strike; and I now declare, in the name of the nation, whose deputy I am, that I will no longer vote in this Assembly till the legislative body can ensure me liberty and safety."

M. Vaublanc then gave an account, "that he had been sought after and pursued by assassins, who had even abused his servant for declaring he did not know where his master was; that having been informed of this, he had not ventured to sleep at his own house, but had passed the night at the house of a friend."

He proceeded in a very eloquent and perspicuous style; to shew that it was not simple indignities offered to individuals they

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were

were now called to repress and punish, but those offered to the French nation. "What," said he, "when an ambassador of the King was insulted in a foreign nation, you thought it a sufficient cause of war; and will you permit the deputies of the French nation to be treated in a manner as outrageous as they could suffer from the Prussians or Austrians?"

He added, "that as the Assembly was not free, and could not deliberate with safety, measures should be taken to secure the inviolability and liberty of the members: besides, he proposed that it should be immediately decreed, that all the *forçerés* should leave Paris."

Kersaint seemed to approve of this, so I suppose it will be adopted.

At this time I left the Assembly; and after calling on an acquaintance, I returned by the key of the Louvre, intending, before I went to the Hotel de Moscovie, just
to

to step into the gardens of the Tuileries, by the gate next the Pont Royal, and was a good deal surprised to find that two Swiss sentinels refused entrance to all but those who presented a ticket: while I stood on the bridge I saw several persons admitted by that means, and the gate carefully shut immediately after them. This seemed to be viewed with an evil eye by the people—some of whom murmured, and talked of the garden's belonging to the public, and not to the family lodged in the Palace, of all of whom the populace spoke with irreverence, and of some of them in terms too indecent to be repeated.

From the violent manner in which the debates are carried on in the National Assembly, and other circumstances I have remarked since my arrival at Paris, I am strongly inclined to think, that the sudden transition which the French have made from a government of powerful and rigid

controul, to one so very indulgent and lax as that now established, will have some bad effects on the minds and conduct of a people of so much vivacity as the natives of this country. Besides, the French have been thought to have more levity of character than the natives of other countries of Europe. This levity was a source of consolation to them under an oppressive government ; it prevented the tyranny which was exercised over them, from making the same impression that it would have made on a people of more serious reflection : but the same levity and vivacity of character which proved a consolation to them in the gloom of despotism, may prove pernicious in the sunshine of liberty.

Perhaps they would have borne a free government with more moderation, and of course they would have had a better chance of enjoying it long, had it been obtained in a more gradual manner.

The

The French have reared the pillar of Liberty with such rapidity, and to such a height, that it seems to have rendered them more giddy than ever.

I had a good deal of conversation this evening with a man of considerable understanding, who has lived many years in this place, and is thought to have opportunities of knowing the true state of the public affairs: his opinion is, that the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto has been of infinite prejudice to the King, because great pains have been taken to make it believed that it was composed with his knowledge and approbation. But this gentleman still thinks, that not only the majority of the National Assembly, but also of the most respectable citizens, and of the national guards themselves, are enemies to the idea of dethroning the King; and wish, *bona fide*, to maintain the Constitution to which they have sworn; and that they disapprove of all tu-

multuous assemblings of the people of the fauxbourgs, with a view to force or terrify the King to withdraw his veto from any decree of the Assembly, or on any other account. They highly disapprove of that which took place on the twentieth of last June, when the mob entered the palace of the Tuileries, behaved in a very insolent manner, and when the lives of the King and Queen were in imminent danger.

It is imagined, however, that something of the same kind is intended to-morrow by the inhabitants of the fauxbourgs, in conjunction with about twelve or fourteen hundred fédérés, who lately arrived from Marfeilles and from Brittany.

But the national guards being now aware of this intention, and having, no doubt, received instructions how to act, it is probable that the attempt will not be made; or, if it is, will prove abortive; in which case, like most unsuccessful insurrections,
it

it will tend to strengthen, instead of weakening the hands of Government.

I am also informed, that besides a complete battalion of Swiss, whose barracks are in the Caroussel adjacent to the palace, a considerable number of disbanded officers, and other persons attached to the Court, sleep every night within the walls of the palace itself, which seems more than sufficient to prevent any effectual attempt from a disorderly multitude: and I should think it probable, that many of the citizens who were violent patriots at the beginning of the revolution, are now tired of the disorderly state of affairs, and think, that supporting the King is the most likely way of obtaining that tranquillity which they have so much need of. They may also think, with great reason, that those who excite the populace in the suburbs, with the ruin of the Constitution.

Between eleven and twelve at night, I

D 4

was

was disturbed by a great noise in the streets from the beating of drums and repeated huzzas. The landlord informs me, that orders have been given to all the citizens to illuminate their windows; that there is reason to apprehend an attack on the Chateau of the Tuileries; that the drum has beat to arms, and that the national guards are all at the alarm posts of their respective departments. I went into the streets, which are all illuminated—the Pont Neuf is covered with foldiers under arms—a large party of the national guards are also in possession of the Pont Royal—nobody is allowed to pass: yet all seems to be conducted with so much regularity, that whatever mischief may have been intended, will, I hope, be prevented.

I was awaked about two in the morning by the sound of the tocsin, and am informed by the people of the hotel, who have not been in bed, that the inhabitants
of

of the fauxbourgs St. Antoine, St. Marceau, St. Jacques, &c. are assembled ; that they are joined by the fédérés from Marseilles and Brittany, in the intention of marching to the Tuileries to require of the King to withdraw his veto from the decree of the National Assembly against the priests who refuse the constitutional oath, and that for assembling an army of 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris.

I hope they will be prevailed on to disperse without making an attempt so unconstitutional. If the King is not allowed the exercise of his veto when he judges it expedient, to give it him was a mockery.

August 10.

Having fallen asleep about three, we were awakened at nine by the firing of cannon—and were told, that the Chateau was attacked. Soon after, we heard the cry of “ To arms, citizens, to arms! they slaughter

slaughter your parents, your brethren, your sons!" and we saw men running half frantic through the streets, exclaiming in that manner. Lord Lauderdale, being still indisposed, could not go out; and my son remained at the hotel with him.

As soon as I was dressed I went into the streets; a party of the national guards, with a number of citizens armed, were marching towards the Tuileries—another body of men followed soon after, dragging several cannons along the Quai de Mazarin, where I was, to the Pont Royal. Some men flying from the Tuileries along this bridge, were killed by the national guards before they reached that end to which the cannon were advancing. Those cannon being mounted on the bridge, were repeatedly discharged against that part of the Chateau which looks to the Seine. Some women who stood near me on the Quai de Voltaire, as soon as they heard the first discharge,

discharge, fell a-clapping their hands, and cried, Bravo ! Bravo !

In the mean time there was some firing of musketry from the windows of the Louvre facing the river—a few people were killed and wounded on the keys. Those who were on the side next the Louvre had run from the key to the brink of the river, that they might be sheltered from the shot by the parapet. A party of national guards who marched along the Quai Mazarin, as often as they saw a group of people converging together, called *Bas les motions**, and dispersed them---the officer at the same time advising all who were without arms to retire to their houses. A little after, as a

* No motions.——The questions moved and debated in clubs respecting the measures of Government, are called motions. From clubs and societies, such as the Jacobins, they were extended to coffee-houses, particularly the Caffé de Foi in the Palais Royal ; and at length the same kind of debates were carried on in the groups formed by people who met accidentally in the public walks and gardens. The guards did not think this a proper moment for such debates or motions.

body of pikemen hurried past, one of them in a very decisive style pointed me out as an aristocrate. Such an accusation in the streets of Paris, any time these four years, would have exposed a man to insult: in the present circumstances, when execution is generally the immediate consequence of accusation, it might have proved fatal; but the valet de place, who accompanied me, declared, that so far from being an aristocrate, or any thing like it, I was un Anglais. "Bon!" cried the pikemen, and continued their course.

After this admonition I retired to the house of an acquaintance, in the Rue Jacob, from whence I went, a little after, to the Hotel de Moscovie. In the streets I met with great numbers of the national guards and fédérés returning home, all of them with pieces of the red uniform of the Swiss guards who had been killed, stuck as trophies on the point of their bayonets.

An

An officer with a party of the national guards conducted Monsieur d'Affré, in a coach, to the prison of the Abbaye, which is near our hotel. A lady, very genteelly dressed, was guarded through the streets on foot, to the same prison, a little before.

We were informed, " that in the course of the preceding night great preparations had been made at the Tuileries to repel the threatened attack from the faubourgs; that several thousands of armed men had been introduced into the Chateau for that purpose, independent of the battalion of Swiss guards; that many of the national guards had been practised on by the agents of the Court, to join the Swiss, and those of the Chateau, who are distinguished by the name of Chevaliers du Poignard, against the people; that while those within the Tuileries were making preparations for the engagement that was expected in the morning, false patrols were detached all around,

around, under the semblance of patrols of the national guards to keep the peace, but, in reality, with the most hostile intentions against the citizens ; that one of those detachments had been met by a body of the national guards, a skirmish had ensued, most of the former had soon fled, but that many had been taken and carried prisoners to the guard-room at the Feuillans ; that the people having heard of this, came in crowds early in the morning, insisting on their being delivered up to them ; that a municipal officer had tried to prevent it, but his endeavours had proved vain ; the corps de garde had been forced. Four of the prisoners, who were considered as the most guilty, because they were disguised in the uniform of the national guards, and armed with poniards and pistols, had been cruelly slaughtered, and their heads cut off and carried on pikes ; that the lives of the rest had been spared at the entreaty of the
 soldiers

soldiers who took them ; that the people of the fauxbourgs, with the Marseillois and Bretons, had marched to the square of the Caroufel, and demanded admittance into the palace of the Tuileries ; that the King, Queen, and Royal Family had retreated from the palace, and taken sanctuary in the National Assembly ; and that, in about three quarters of an hour after they were there, the Swiss guards, and those within the Chateau, had fired grape shot and musketry on the people drawn up in the court of the Chateau, and continued a rolling fire of ten minutes ; that the foederés, supported by the people of the fauxbourgs, had rallied and attacked the defenders of the castle, had driven them out of it into the garden, where, in their flight, they had been slaughtered by the national guards, who now, both foot and horse, took a decided part against the Court, and for the People. That a great number of the citizens and

foederés

föderés had been killed, as well as many of the Chevaliers du Poignard; but that very few of the Swiss guards were left alive; for those who, instead of flying into the garden or streets, had sought shelter in the apartments of the palace, had been massacred with the domestics of the King and Queen, and all, of whatever quality or denomination, who were supposed to favour their cause. We have also heard, with much regret, that an Abbé, I forget his name, the preceptor of the Prince Royal, was killed, with some Swiss soldiers whom he had humanely attempted to save by concealing them in a closet of his apartment. Clermont Tonnerre, we hear, was also killed in the street."

Such is the account which, with some variations, we have heard this day.—All agree that the Swiss began hostilities by giving the first fire on the people. It is even asserted, that they pretended to be well disposed to the cause of the people,

shook

took hands with some of them; and having thus thrown them off their guard, they most perfidiously fired on them.

This account, however, I do not credit, because it is contrary to the character of the Swiss, who are an honest and plain-dealing people; and because, after the King and Royal Family had forsaken the castle, I can see no motive which the Swiss could have for firing, but self-defence. I therefore think it most probable, especially considering the vivacity of the one people, and the phlegm of the other, that the French were the aggressors.

I shall endeavour to get a circumstantial and accurate account of this action hereafter; but, at present, the accounts are so opposite, that nothing is to be depended on.

I have this day been witness to many interesting, and even affecting scenes in the streets. During the cannonade and noise

of the musketry, the grief and anxiety of all for the friends and relations they knew to be then engaged, produced a most expressive silence in some, while the air was rent by the exclamations of others, particularly the women and children, who trembled for the lives of fathers, husbands, and brothers, who had left their families at the first call to arms, and had not been seen since. When the action was over, and the national guards returning, many of the women rushed into the ranks to embrace and felicitate their husbands and brothers on their safety. I saw one father of a numerous family met at his own door by his wife and children. After embracing each as they crowded around him, he entered the shop, carrying one of his children in each of his arms; his daughter following with his grenadier's cap in her hand, and his two little boys dragging his musket.

August

August 11.

When the King and Queen entered the hall of the National Assembly, they were accompanied by the Dauphin, their daughter, and the Princess Elizabeth; and attended by the ministers and some members of the municipality of Paris.

The King, at first, placed himself at the side of the president, and said, "I am come hither to prevent a great crime—I believe myself in safety in the midst of you, Gentlemen."

The president answered, "that he might rely on the Assembly, who had sworn to die at their post in supporting the rights of the nation and of the constituted authorities."

It was observed by one of the members, that the King's presence put a restraint on the debates; on which he descended to the bar where his family was, and with them was conducted into a box on the right

hand of the president, called La Loge du Logographe, where seven or eight persons used to sit around a table to take down in writing the debates, and every thing remarkable which passed in the Assembly.

They had not been situated long there when the action began. The National Assembly is very near the place in which the engagement was. Several cannon bullets struck the roof of the hall, and some musket shot entered the windows. What interest all within must have taken in this action, will be easily imagined. Some members rose and changed their seats when the cannon were first heard; but the president, calling to order, said it was the duty of every member to remain with steadiness at his post, and to serve his country to the best of his abilities. After this every member kept his place, except such as were deputed on some particular business by the president.

The

The King said to the president, that he had given orders to the Swiss not to fire.

The firing of the cannon and muskets continue. The Assembly remain silent for some time.

A member then made a motion, that it should be immediately decreed, that all property and persons should be under the safeguard of the law and of the people.

This was applauded and decreed.

They next decreed an act or proclamation to all the citizens, inviting them to have confidence in their representatives, who had sworn to save the country.

Some time after the action was over, a deputation from the new chosen community of Paris appeared at the bar: this election had been made the preceding night; and the new elected council had usurped the council chamber, and driven out the old, all but Petion, the mayor of Paris; Manuel, the procureur; and Danton, minister of justice:

E 3

they

they were preceded by three banners, on which were inscribed, "Liberté! Patrie! Egalité!" One of them spoke as follows:

"Législateurs! Ce sont de nouveaux magistrats du peuple qui se présentent à votre barre. Les dangers de la patrie ont provoqué notre nomination. Les circonstances la consacrent; et notre patriotisme saura nous en rendre dignes. Le peuple, las enfin d'être depuis quatre ans l'éternel jouet des perfidies de la cour et des intrigans, a senti qu'il étoit tems d'arrêter l'empire sur les bords de l'abyme.

"Législateurs, il ne nous reste plus qu'à le seconder. Nous venons ici en son nom vous demander des mesures de salut public. Pétion, Manuel, et Danton sont toujours nos collègues. Santerre est à la tête de la force armée. Que les traitres frémissent à leur tour! Ce jour est le triomphe des vertus civiques.

"Le sang du peuple a coulé; des troupes
étran-

étrangères, qui ne font restées dans nos murs que par un nouveau délit du pouvoir exécutif, ont tiré sur les citoyens; nos malheureux frères ont laissés des veuves et des orphelins.

“ Le peuple, qui nous envoie vers vous, nous a chargés de vous déclarer, qu’il ne pouvoit reconnoître pour juge des mesures extraordinaires auxquelles la nécessité et la résistance à l’oppression l’ont porté, que le peuple François, votre souverain et le notre, dans ses assemblées primaires *.”

This

* Legislators! The new magistrates of the people appear at your bar; the dangers of the country occasioned our election; the circumstances rendered it necessary, and our patriotism renders us worthy of it. The people, at length tired of being during four years the dupes of the perfidy of the Court, have thought it time to endeavour to save the empire on the brink of ruin.

Legislators, all we have to do is to assist the people. We come here, in their name, to be advised by you in measures for the public service. Petion, Manuel, and

E 4

Danton

This address, which was received with high applause by the people in the tribunes, must have been exceedingly offensive to the King; yet I am told he heard it with apparent tranquillity, while the Queen shewed evident marks of indignation.

It was decreed that the present ministers had lost the confidence of the nation; and that the National Assembly should appoint six new ones, none of whom were to be

Danton are still our colleagues. Santerre is at the head of the armed force,

Let traitors tremble in their turn; this day is the triumph of civic virtue. Foreign troops, who have remained within our walls only by a new crime of the executive power, have fired upon the citizens. Our unhappy brethren have left behind them widows and orphans.

The people, who have deputed us to you, have given us in charge to declare, that they will acknowledge no other judges of the extraordinary measures which necessity and resistance to oppression obliged them to adopt, but the French people united in the primary assemblies,

taken

taken from its own body. But when they were about to proceed in the usual form to this nomination, it was observed, that three patriotic ministers lately dismissed, and who carried with them the esteem of the people, naturally presented themselves to their choice. It was immediately decreed, that Roland, Servan, and Claviere should be appointed provisionally.

This last word was added, because the King may be reinstated in his authority by the ensuing Convention ; in which case he will have the right to confirm or reject them, and name others. These three are for the home affairs, the war department, and contributions.

I went this morning to see the places where the action of yesterday happened. The naked bodies of the Swiss, for they were already stripped, lay exposed on the ground. I saw a great number on the terrace, immediately before the palace of the
 Tuileries;

Tuileries ; some lying single in different parts of the gardens ; and some in heaps, one above another, particularly near the terrace of the Feuillans.

The garden and adjacent courts were crowded with spectators, among whom there was a considerable proportion of women, whose curiosity it was evident was fully equal to their modesty.

The bodies of the national guards, of the citizens of the fauxbourgs, and of the fédérés, have been already removed by their friends ; those of the Swiss only lie exposed in this shocking manner. Of about 800 or 1000 of these, who were yesterday mustered in the Tuileries, I am told there are not 200 left alive.

Seeing a number of people going up the grand staircase of the palace, to see the ravage that was made in all the rooms by the action of yesterday, I intermingled with the crowd, and had ascended half way, when

when I heard the shrieks of some one above, and soon after the body of a man was carried down. I was told that he had been detected in the act of stealing some of the furniture belonging to the palace, and was instantly put to death by the people around him.

This expeditious method of executing justice removed all inclination of visiting the royal apartments: I descended to the terrace, and took another melancholy walk among the bodies of those whom I had seen two days before in all the pride of health and military pomp. In point of size and looks, I do not suppose there is a finer battalion of infantry in Europe than they formed at that time.

After they gave way, they were slaughtered by those who kept aloof while they resisted. Some were pursued through the streets, and dragged from the shops and houses whither they fled for shelter. About

fifty or sixty who asked for quarter, were saved by the Marseillois: they were delivered to the national guards, and conducted by them to the Maison de Ville. While those unfortunate men were detained in the square, waiting for orders from the municipality into what prison they were to be confined, the multitude, enraged no doubt by the death of their friends and relations, and irritated at the sight of the wounded citizens who were carrying to their houses and to the hospitals, began to cry for vengeance on the prisoners; and at length, like a parcel of drunken savages, they burst through the ranks of the national guards, and butchered the defenceless Swiss in cold blood. I cannot deem the national guards guiltless. I have been told that they could not save the Swiss without killing the citizens: but such furies do not deserve the name of citizens, and were infinitely more criminal than the Swiss.

From

From the gardens of the Tuileries I walked through the centre gate of the palace into the court, and the Caroussel, where the action first began. At the very beginning, a number of the crowd were killed and wounded at the bottom of the great stairs, by an unexpected fire from the top of the first flight of stairs. Some of the Swiss themselves, who were intermingled and conversing with the people, were killed by this fire. The bodies of the Swiss were lying in various parts of the area.

The barracks of the Swiss guards, which divide this large area from the Caroussel, had been set on fire yesterday, and are still burning. Many of the bodies were thrown into the flames—I saw some half consumed.

Sick at the sight, I hurried from this scene of horror, and about mid-day I went to the National Assembly. While I waited at the door which enters to the Assembly from the garden of the Feuillans, for the

gentleman who was to procure me admittance, a long procession advanced to the gate : it consisted of a number of persons, some in the uniform of the national guards, and some in the dress of citizens, each of whom held a man in a white waistcoat, but without a coat, by the hand. The latter were generally pale and dejected; and the men under whose protection they were, encouraged and supported them.

I was immediately informed that a considerable number of the Swiss were saved, and had been confined in the corps de garde of the post of the Feuillans : a mob, however, had begun to gather about the guard-room, and some horrid wretches among them cried aloud for the heads of those unhappy soldiers. On this, it was deemed the best means for their safety to conduct them to the bar of the Assembly, and demand its protection.

Lafource hastened to inform the Assembly

bly of the danger in which the poor Swifs were, and to request its protection ; while Gorfaf remained at the door of the guard-room haranguing the mob, and ufing every means which humanity infpired, to prevent them from attacking the prifoners.

They were conducted accordingly from the guard-room to the Affembly door in the manner above mentioned, by fome citizens, among whom was Lafource, and others of the deputies. I entered a little before the Swifs, and got a feat in the body of the houfe among the members.

The King, Queen, with their fon and daughter, and the Princefs Elizabeth ; the Princefs Lamballe, and three or four other attendants, had remained in the Loge du Logographe, yesterday, from nine in the morning till late at night. They had been then conducted to an adjacent committee-room, where they had remained all night,
and

and returned to the same Loge in the morning, when the Assembly met. My eyes were naturally directed to the box in which they were. From the place in which I sat I could not see the King, but I had a full view of the Queen and the rest of the Royal Family. Her beauty is gone! No wonder. She seemed to listen with an undisturbed air to the speakers. Sometimes she whispered to her sister-in-law, and to Madame de Lamballe; once or twice she stood up, and, leaning forward, surveyed every part of the hall. A person near me remarked, that her face indicated rage and the most provoking arrogance. I perceived nothing of that nature; although the turn of the debate, as well as the remarks which were made by some of the members, must have appeared to her highly insolent and provoking. On the whole, her behaviour in this trying situation seemed full of propriety and dignified composure. I know
not

not whether the height from which this unhappy Princess has fallen, and her present deplorable situation, may not make me view her with additional interest and partiality ; but I am surpris'd to find that the edge of that rancour which has prevailed in this country against her, seems to be in no degree blunted by her misfortunes.

It was impossible to look at the Prince Royal without reflecting that his lot, which no doubt has been considered as the highest of all prizes, was now, of a sudden, and without any fault of his, changed into the most unfortunate that could be drawn in the lottery of life. At present he is too young to calculate the amount, or taste the bitterness of the calamity which has befallen him ; and seem'd to me to suffer more from being so long confined in such a narrow place, than from all that has happened besides, either to his parents or himself.

VOL. I.

F

My

My attention was drawn from the Royal Family to the Swiss, as soon as they appeared at the bar. One of their own nation, as I supposed by his accent, addressed the Assembly in their favour: it was evidently the desire of the members that they should be saved; but all those in the tribunes were not in the same disposition--one exclaimed, " Ils ont assassiné nos frères*."

La Croix made a speech, the tendency of which was to soften the minds of the people, and incline them to mercy.

Notwithstanding which, some wretches from the tribunes called for justice and vengeance for the death of their friends.

The members in various parts of the hall spoke directly up to the people in the tribunes immediately above them, and seemed to entreat them to be more humane. One member near me ad-

* They assassinated our brethren.

dressed

dressed them in the most earnest manner, assuring them, that the unhappy men at the bar were well disposed towards the French nation ; that they had acted from ignorance, and in obedience to those whom they thought it their duty as soldiers to obey ; but had they known that they were intended to be employed against the citizens, they would have refused even to remain in the Chateau.

This expostulation produced an effect on many, but a few still murmured ; on which a deputy lost his temper so far as to address that part of the gallery from whence the murmur proceeded, in angry terms. He was stopped by those next him, who put him in mind, that this might irritate the people still more, and prevent what he wished : he sat down, saying, “ Ces gens sont des bêtes féroces *.”

* These people are ferocious brutes.

I do not remember that I ever felt myself more affected than during this contest. I often threw my eyes into the Loge du Logographe. What must have been the feelings of the King and Queen ! What those of the poor Swifs themselves ! While any of the members were speaking in their favour, and assuring the people that they had acted from constraint, and never were the enemies of the French nation, they stretched out their arms in confirmation of what was said. I was filled with indignation at the obduracy of some wretches in the galleries, who still remained inexorable, although by far the greater part was now moved to compassion.

Lafource, at last, made an observation which seemed to have great effect. It is not the people, said he, who thirst for the blood of those men, but a few villains who excite you to massacre them for fear that
they

they should give testimony of the conspiracies of the Court.

After all, however, La Croix proposed that they should not be immediately carried back to the guard-room, but remain in the Assembly till there should be a certainty that the people without were dispersed. They were ordered to take seats accordingly, which they did behind the deputies.

This measure occurred to La Croix, on hearing that some of the porters at the hotels who are called Swiss, although most of them are Frenchmen, have been killed by the indiscriminating fury of the mob.

The poor fellow who opens the gate of our hotel has taken the alarm, and begs that in future we may call him the Porter, and not the Swiss. All of the same profession in Paris follow his example; they have already removed the inscription, " Parlez au Suisse," which is generally fixed on a board

at the gate of hotels, and put up in its stead, " Parlez au Portier."

The remaining three ministers were elected by, what is called, Appel nominal. The majority of voices were for Le Brun for foreign affairs, Monge for the marine, and ~~Danton~~ as minister of justice.

I saw some of the ministers, and Santerre, who is appointed commander in chief of the Parisian national guards, take the oaths before I left the Assembly; and when I went away the Swiss soldiers were still in it; but on going out, I was sorry to see a great number of men, whose aspects I did not much like, still surrounding the hall: this gave me uneasiness on account of the Swiss. But I was informed in the evening, that some hours after I left the Assembly, it had been proposed, that to secure the lives of the Swiss, they should be accompanied to the Hotel de Bourbon by the members of the Assembly. This was
pre-

prevented by a number of the fédérés from Marseilles, the very men whose intrepid attack had put the Swifs to flight, appearing at the bar. "The Swifs," said they, "are no longer our enemies, we will escort them."

They were conveyed accordingly to the Palais de Bourbon, protected by their conquerors from the cowardly rage of those who had shrunk from them when they were armed, and dared to attack them only now when they were defenceless prisoners.

The magnificent palace of the Condé family is, I understand, at present, a kind of military post. The Swifs are ordered to be detained in some courts belonging to that palace, till a court martial shall finally determine their fate. This measure was proposed by La Croix, by way of appeasing the people; but there is no question that the design is to acquit them all. I am told the number is above a hundred.

It is a relief to my mind that it has

ended so. I had many unpleasant sensations this day while I remained in the Assembly, being anxious for the safety of the Swiss, shocked at the savage disposition manifested by some of the people in the galleries, and filled with indignation to see the legislators of a nation forced to entreat an act of justice and humanity from those whom they have a right to command. This is the temporary effect of that disorder which naturally attends a great convulsion.

I have already mentioned, that the Assembly displayed great firmness during the engagement yesterday. When the cannon were first heard, one of the deputies exclaimed—"Do you hear! They are now endeavouring to destroy freedom, and re-establish despotism. Our enemies have been encouraged to this audacious attempt by our supineness. Let us rouse with the people—let us swear to maintain Liberty and Equality."

On this, all the members started up, stretched forth their right hands, and pronounced, "Oui, nous le jurons *."

The enthusiasm instantly spread to the spectators in the galleries, and the cries of "Vive la liberté! Vive la nation †!" resounded through the hall.

During the sitting of yesterday, the Assembly decreed, That the French Nation is invited to form a Conventional Assembly, of which the mode and time of election will be particularised hereafter.

That Louis XVI. is suspended from his authority, till such time as the Conventional Assembly shall decide on proper measures for securing the blessing of freedom to the people.

The payment of the Civil List is likewise suspended.

* Yes, we swear.

† Liberty for ever! The country for ever!

The

The King and Royal Family are to remain under the immediate safeguard of the Assembly, and within the walls where it meets, till such time as tranquillity is established in Paris; and then they are to be conducted to the palace of Luxembourg, and there put under the protection of the citizens and of the laws.

All public officers, whether military or civil, who shall leave their posts in the present moment of danger and alarm, are declared infamous, and traitors to their country.

Those and other decrees of yesterday were sent to the 83 departments of France, by couriers who set out last night.

August 12.

On the night of the 10th, commissaries were sent from the National Assembly to the armies to explain the motives of these decrees. These commissaries have the
power

power of pronouncing the suspension of the general officers of whatever rank; they are enjoined to explain to officers and soldiers the decrees pronounced by the Assembly, and conciliate them to the present measures. Three in particular went off that night to the army commanded by La Fayette. It will not be a very easy task to reconcile that general to what has happened. It is by some people believed that the commissaries have orders to put him under arrest. It is a bold measure to arrest a popular general at the head of an army by whom he is beloved, and the Assembly have accordingly entrusted very bold men with the execution of it. Kerfaint, who is the person most to be depended on in the commission, is a naval officer of great professional merit, and who also has the reputation of being a man of sense, courage, and integrity. Some people, however, think that the commissaries run a greater risk of being hanged

hanged by the orders of the general, than the general runs of being arrested by theirs. At all events, France is at present in more extraordinary and more critical circumstances than we have any record of any nation's having ever been. After having, by a miraculous effort, overthrown a vast fabric of despotism, and formed a new system of limited monarchy, the people, whether with or without reason, I cannot yet determine, become at once convinced that their King is betraying them; they attack his palace, confine his person, and suspend his authority. In the mean time, the Legislative Assembly thinking themselves justified by necessity in going thus far, and unwilling to give an example of an usurpation of power, decree a National Convention to meet within seven weeks, and that their own dissolution shall take place as soon as the Convention is formed:—the elections for that purpose to go on at a time when the
nation

nation itself is threatened by Russia, Sardinia, Spain, and a coalition of the Princes of Germany; and when the frontiers of France are attacked by the numerous disciplined forces of Austria and Prussia, abetted by Princes of the blood, at the head of 22,000 emigrants.

In such circumstances, France may say with Frederic the Second of Prussia, "I know not whether I shall survive this war; but, sure I am, my enemies can obtain no glory by overcoming me."

The National Assembly have decreed, that the statues in the public places shall be destroyed, and monuments in honour of Liberty substituted in their stead. The statue of Louis XIII. in the Place Royal, those of Louis XIV. in the Places Vendôme and Victoire, with that of Louis XV. in the beautiful opening which bore his name, but which, I understand, is to bear it no longer, are already overturned, and are to be removed.

moved. All the amiable and popular qualities of Henry IV. will not save his statue on the Pont Neuf from the same fate. To the amateurs who lament over this as barbarous and Gothic, it is answered, "L'art en gémira peut-être, mais pour un chef-d'œuvre perdu, la Liberté en reproduira mille *."

As the Assembly have only suspended the exercise of the regal power, but have not abolished royalty, this decree against the statues is rather exceeding the limits they had traced to themselves: it is intended no doubt as a hint to the Conventional Assembly.

But whatever reason the French may have for proceeding in the manner they do with respect to their own kings or their statues, I see no wisdom or necessity in their provoking the hatred of all the crowned heads

* The Arts may suffer for a time; but for one masterpiece that is destroyed, Liberty will produce thousands.

in

in Europe. They seem to have rushed a little wantonly into their present war with the Emperor. But if they can give good political reasons for that, there certainly is none for their industriously drawing on themselves the enmity of all other monarchies.

Yet those of the best talents among them may be accused of this imprudence. Brissot, in a discourse, pronounced on the 9th of July last, " Sur les causes des dangers de la patrie," talking of the combination of princes against France, uses the following expression : " Ces puissances ne tendent pas à prendre quelques villes, à gagner quelques batailles, à s'arrondir, à s'aggrandir. Non, une idée bien plus profonde les dirige et les rallie. Le système de liberté qui gouverne la France les inquiete : ils y voient une source intarissable d'où s'écouleront, tôt ou tard, des torrens qui doivent renverser tous les trônes de l'Europe : ils voient que les Rois sont mûrs, et ils veulent prévenir l'époque où ils
 2 doivent

doivent tomber. C'est donc ici, Messieurs, une guerre à mort entre la royauté et la liberté. Les tyrans de l'Europe veulent nous écraser, ou périr*."

And Barbaroux, one of the deputies from Marseilles, in answer to an insinuation from some of the members, that the fédérés from that town had designs against the life of the King, said this morning in the Assembly, " Eh, Messieurs, les Marseillois n'aiment pas les rois, car ils font les fléaux de la terre: mais ils ne s'en débarrasseront jamais par un crime ; ils attendront le jugement du peuple souverain : et d'ailleurs Louis XVI. a

* The chief aim of those powers is not to take a few towns, or to gain battles, or to increase their dominions. A more serious idea directs and unites them. That system of liberty which governs France, disquiets them; in it they see an inexhaustible source from which torrents will flow, which sooner or later must overwhelm all the thrones in Europe. They see that Kings are ripe, but they wish to postpone the time of their falling. This, Gentlemen, is a mortal war between royalty and liberty—the tyrants of Europe must crush us, or perish.
creusé

creusé lui-même le tombeau de la royauté :
c'est le seul bien qu'il nous ait fait *."

It is impossible for me, a stranger just arrived at Paris, to know whether the treachery imputed to the King is well or ill founded ; but I see the necessity of charging him with it, to justify the present measures in the eyes of the public. At Paris they seem inclined enough to believe the whole. Whether the armies and provinces are in the same disposition, is yet to be seen.

August 13.

The primary assemblies for choosing the electors are appointed for the 26th of this month. The electors or deputies for the

* I acknowledge, Gentlemen, that we men of Marseilles are not fond of Kings, for they are the scourges of the earth ; but we will never rid ourselves of them in a criminal manner ; we will wait for the judgment of the Sovereign People. Besides, Lewis the Sixteenth has himself dug the grave of royalty : it is the only good he ever did us.

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G

ensuing

ensuing Convention are to assemble on the 2d of September. The members chosen for the Convention, which are not to exceed in number the present Legislative Assembly, are to meet at Paris on the 20th of the same month.

The former distinction of the citizens into *actifs* et non *actifs* is suppressed : all that is necessary to entitle a man to a vote is, that he is 21 years of age, a Frenchman, who has lived for one year in the country on his own revenue, or the produce of his labour, and is not in a state of servitude. The electors are to have three livres a day during their mission, and are allowed at the rate of one livre a league for the distance from their usual place of residence to that in which the election of members for their department is to be held.

The only conditions requisite for eligibility, either as elector or deputy, are those above mentioned, whatever his profession
is

is or has been. The citizens in the primary assemblies, and the electors in the electoral assembly, are to take the oath to maintain Liberty and Equality, or die in defending them.

The above regulations will no doubt be observed—although they are not *decreed*, but only recommended by the present Assembly, who do not assume the right of ordaining a form for the exercise of sovereignty in the formation of a National Convention.

Instead of *decreeing*, therefore, the Assembly merely *invite* the people to observe this method.

In the mean time, I occasionally see people who, when the Convention is mentioned, shrug their shoulders and smile, in a manner which plainly implies, that in their opinion there will be no Conventional Assembly. And one person assured me in a whisper, that if there should happen to be a Convention at Paris, on or about the 20th

of September, he was convinced it would be composed of Prussiens actifs et citoyens passifs.

This, however, does not seem the opinion of the people in general. The public walks are crowded with men, women, and children of all conditions, with the most gay unconcerned countenances imaginable. A stranger just come to Paris, without having heard of the late transactions, and walking through the gardens of the Tuileries, Place de Louis XVI. and Champs Elisées, would naturally imagine, from the frisky behaviour and cheerful faces of the company he meets, that this day was a continuation of a series of days appointed for dissipation, mirth, and enjoyment; he could not possibly imagine that the ground he is walking over was so lately covered with the bodies of slaughtered men; or that the gay lively people he saw were so lately overwhelmed with sorrow and dismay.

I drove

I drove to many places in Paris this morning. The epithet *royal*, which was formerly so profusely assumed and inscribed with pride and ostentation, is now carefully effaced from every shop, magazine, auberge, or hotel; all those also who were so vain of announcing over their doors that they were the tradesmen of the King or Queen, or in any way employed by them, have removed every word, emblem, or sign which could revive the remembrance of such a connection; and at present a taylor would rather advertise that he was breeches-maker to a *sans culottes*, than to a prince of the blood royal.

Above the great gate of the church of Notre Dame, are the figures in stone of twenty-six Kings of France, from Childebert the First to Philip August. I was told that in this general fury against kings, all those venerable personages had been hewn to pieces by the people. I had the curiosity

to go to the cathedral on purpose, to see whether absurd zeal had been carried this length, and had the satisfaction of finding this royal society safe and uninjured by any hand but that of Time.

The ridiculous gigantic statue of St. Christopher, with the Bon Dieu upon his shoulders, which I remember to have stood formerly within the church, is now removed; but I believe the revolution cannot claim the merit of this improvement, as it was made before it began.

From the Nôtre Dame I accompanied a young man to the Carmelites in the Rue St. Jacques; he had a curiosity to see the famous Magdalene by Le Brun. The utmost excess of grief is strongly expressed in this picture, particularly in the eyes and upper part of the face; but I cannot believe the story, so often repeated, that the Duchess de la Valiere, who retired to this convent when she found herself supplanted in the affections

affections of Louis XIV. by Madamé de Montespan, ever fat for this picture. How could it be believed that a woman who retired from the world, whether from disappointed love, or devotion, would assume, like an actress, the features of excessive sorrow, and sit in a chosen attitude, that a painter might draw her in a particular character? Vanity prompts people to this kind of constraint every day, but real grief or devotion, never.

If she never sat for it then, it is not probable that it has much resemblance of Madame de la Valiere: yet more people are drawn to see it, from the notion of its being her portrait, than from the pleasure they take in viewing a fine picture.

The man who shewed us the Carmelite church, said there were at present forty nuns in the convent, all of whom had the liberty to leave it, but they chose to remain.

“ They are very old, I suppose,” said I.

"On the contrary," replied the man, "there are some of them young and handsome."

If there is any merit in retiring from the world and becoming useless to society, these nuns have a claim to more now than formerly, since they do that spontaneously, which before they possibly could not help.

August 14.

Although the French are less subject to ennui than any other people, yet they are extremely inventive of expedients to prevent it. Of all the contrivances for that purpose I ever heard of, one of the most singular was what I was informed of this morning.

As I stood on the key of the Louvre, a battalion, part of which was already on the Pont Royal, marched past; we were told that the mayor of Paris was in the front; they were conducting some Swiss to the Abbaye. While I was contemplating this scene, a man, who seemed at least seventy years of age, entered into conversation

with me : a girl of about ten or eleven held him by the arm. He praised the appearance of the men ; and the young girl was delighted with the rough caps and immense moustaches of the grenadiers.

“ Mademoiselle is your daughter ?” said I.

“ No,” answered he, “ I do not know that I ever had any children, *although* I have lived all my life a bachelor. This poor little girl,” added he, “ has lived with me several years. She was quite destitute, and I took her from charity. People are often at a loss how to amuse themselves, particularly towards the decline of life. I have had a great deal of pleasure, for my own part, in teaching this little girl mathematics.”

A young gentleman who was present burst into laughter ; and the old man perceiving that I could with difficulty refrain, “ I see,” said he good-humouredly, “ that you do not credit what I tell you ; but it is literally true. I have found much
amuse-

amusement in instructing this child in algebra and the mathematics. She is a very apt scholar, as you shall see.

“ Tell me, my dear, what are the three angles of any triangle equal to ? ”

“ Two right angles,” answered she.

“ Exactly,” said the old man ; “ and pray, what is the cube-root of eight ? ”

“ Two,” answered the girl.

“ And what is the cubic number of four ? ” resumed he.

She immediately replied, “ Sixty-four.”

Having enjoyed our surprise a little, and finding we were going a different road, he took his leave of us in high spirits, and walked away with the girl holding his arm. I mention this rencontre merely for its singularity, and not by way of advice to men in the decline of life. For, although it seems to have succeeded wonderfully with this particular old man, it would be rash to infer, that it would be equally safe and salutary

lutory for every old man to amuse himself in teaching a young girl mathematics.

On quitting him I walked to the National Assembly. One of the cannoners who had distinguished himself in the action of the 10th, on the side of the people, was at the bar: a considerable quantity of silver plate had been taken by this man from those who had stolen it from the palace; and having been brought by him to the Assembly, now lay on the table.

Many instances of the same disinterested spirit were exhibited, as I have been repeatedly told by those who were present in the Assembly immediately after the engagement. The jewels of the Queen, many massy pieces of plate, very valuable pieces of furniture which could have been easily concealed, all the silver utensils belonging to the chapel, were brought to the Assembly by those who made the first irruption into the palace. Some poor fellows who
had

had not whole clothes on their backs, brought little sacks of gold and silver coin, and deposited them unopened in the hall of the Assembly. One soldier brought his hat full of louis, and emptied it on the table.

It is in the times of great political struggles and revolutions, that the minds of men are most apt to be exalted above the selfish considerations of ordinary life: those are the epochs of great virtues as well as of great vices. It is an error to imagine, that men of the lowest rank in life are unsusceptible of heroic and generous sentiments. All who are susceptible of enthusiasm are capable of being actuated by them. It is the minions of fortune, those who have been pampered from their infancy by the hand of luxury, and early accustomed to every kind of profusion, whose minds sink into torpor for want of exertion; it is such as those that are the most likely to be unsusceptible

susceptible of generous sentiments, and incapable of heroic efforts.

August 15.

I went this morning to call on M. Gautier the banker. As I crossed the court to go to his office, I met an old gentleman whose face I thought I had seen before, but was not certain. We saluted each other without speaking. When I entered, I was informed by M. Gautier it was the Abbé Raynal. I was happy at this information, because I had heard, that happening to have slept the preceding night in the palace of the Tuileries, he had been killed on the morning of the 10th, as I fear many real friends of liberty were.

Although the National Assembly had decreed, that the Royal Family should be lodged in the palace of Luxembourg, this was delayed, because a deputation from the Section des Quatre Nations represented to
the

the Assembly, that there are subterraneous passages belonging to that building, by which the King might be carried off.

On the same day another petition was presented of a singular nature indeed. In this the Assembly are reproached for having decreed only the suspension of the King, when all France wishes his being dethroned. " Pourquoi," continue these modest petitioners, " attendre la Convention Nationale ? Le peuple est là pour sanctionner vos decrets. Louis XVI. est atteint de la malédiction nationale ; il a lâchement fui de son palais, pour laisser plus audacieux les assassins du peuple ; il n'est venu dans votre sein que pour dicter votre arrêt, si ses agens eussent été victorieux. Des veuves, des enfans desolés vous demandent vengeance. Qui de vous n'est pas disposé à devenir le juge sévère du scélérat Louis XVI ? Commandez vos généraux de faire lire
à tous

à tous les peuples la déclaration des droits de l'homme, et de proclamer la guerre à tous les tyrans *."

The terms in which those petitioners mention the King, are equally odious on account of their barbarity and their falsehood.

They are also insolent to the National Assembly, which has declared, that not presuming to determine what the will of the nation is respecting the King, this

* Why wait for the National Convention? The people are ready to sanction your decrees. Lewis XVI. is covered with the curses of his country. He shamefully abandoned his palace, that the assassins of the people might act more boldly. He came among you for no other purpose but to pronounce your condemnation, if his troops had been victorious. Widows and wretched infants call to you for vengeance. Can any of you be unwilling to become the severe judge of the flagitious Lewis? Give orders to your generals that the declaration of the rights of man be read to every people, and let them declare war against all tyrants.

point is left to the decision of the nation itself, to be expressed by the organ of a Convention of its own choosing. This is all unnecessary, say the petitioners. What you do *not know* we will tell you. All the people wish the King to be dethroned; take our word for it, and save the trouble of calling a Conventional Assembly.

If, however, this address to the Assembly is intended as an *order*, which I am informed many late petitions are, then all the expressions are not so improper; we are then only surprised at its being entitled a *petition*.

The Commune de Paris, which is a council or assembly composed of members from the 48 sections of Paris, not approving of the Luxembourg for the King's residence, sent a deputation to the bar of the National Assembly, where Manuel, their procureur, said, " La France est libre, car Louis est sujet de la loi. Nous venons
vous

vous proposer pour sa demeure le Temple— nous vous proposons de le faire conduire avec tout le respect dû à l'infortuné*," &c.

The Assembly applauded his speech, and agreed to the proposal ; but it were to be wished that the treatment of the unfortunate family had corresponded with the sentiments which the Assembly approved.

The lodge or box in which the royal family sat for three days from morning till night, is a small room of about nine or ten feet square, at the president's right hand, and separated from the hall of the Assembly by small iron bars: the entry is behind from the corridor into a kind of small closet, through which you pass into the lodge. This closet was the only place into which they could retire; and they came into the lodge at nine of the morn-

* France is free, because Lewis is subject to law.— We propose the Temple for his residence, and we wish him to be conducted thither with all the regard due to the unfortunate.

ing of the 10th, and remained till midnight, when they were conducted to an adjacent committee-room, where they passed the night, returning to the lodge about ten in the morning.

On the 11th and 12th they retired at about nine or ten at night ; and on the 13th they were conducted to their prison at the Temple. As this small closet was the only place to which they could retire, they were under the necessity of taking every refreshment they needed through the day, there. On the 10th the King ate nothing but a little biscuit and a glass of lemonade ; the Queen, nothing but a basin of soup. On the subsequent days they had their dinner from a neighbouring traiteur, which was served in the same little closet. Their sole occupation, during all this time, was hearing the debates of the Assembly. This would probably have been a severe punishment, although personal abuse had been abstained

obtained from; which, however, was not always the case. One member*, in the midst of his harangue, said, "that all the bloodshed of that day, and all the miseries of the country, were owing to the perjury and treason of that traitor," pointing to the King. This certainly was not observing *tout le respect dû à l'infortuné*. To give way to such an outrage against a man, not to say a King, in this unhappy situation, required the heart of a tiger, and the manners of a *Capuchin*.

Some time after the firing on the 10th was quite over, the Queen, being impatient to know the particulars of what had passed, desired a young man who had the care of the box, with whom I have conversed, to go to the Tuileries and Caroussel, and bring her an account of what he saw. The young man went; and without making a very minute survey, or walking over half the

* Chabot, formerly a Capuchin Friar:

ground on which the fighting had been, he reported that he had counted a hundred and twenty dead bodies. The Queen shed tears at this report, and asked him no more questions on that subject.

It must seem strange, the whole Assembly being witness to the uncomfortable and indecent situation of the royal family for so long a space of time, that none of them proposed to remedy it; which might have been done, in some degree, by their having the use of some other small rooms which are under the same roof with the Assembly hall.

I suppose that those who wished it, were afraid to shew any attention to the royal family; and those who could have done it with safety, wanted the inclination; for it is evident that a considerable part of the members, since the decisive affair of the 10th, are under personal apprehension. Those who voted in favour of M. la Fayette have been threatened by the populace.

Gorfas,

Gorfas, the editor of the *Courrier*, has been applied to, to publish their names, which he humanely refuses to do. The only meaning of such request certainly is to point them out to the fury of the mob.

When the royal family were conducted from their very narrow apartment in the Assembly to the Temple, the affluence of people was prodigious; they exacted that the windows of the carriage should be kept down—this was complied with. In going through the Place Vendôme, whether it happened from the mere confluence of people, or by premeditated design, the carriage was stopped a considerable time near the overturned statue of Louis XIV.

The Queen was thought to throw disdainful looks on the people. Whether this was really the case, or imaginary, I know not; but I am assured that Petion, the mayor of Paris, who was in the coach, begged of the Queen to look with more mildness, as some

of them seemed provoked, and he dreaded the consequence.

Her Majesty after this threw down her eyes without looking at the people at all.

The King seemed less sorrowful or pensive. When they were going into the carriage at the Assembly hall, some one said, they were putting too many into the coach, On which his Majesty, with a look of good humour, replied, " Not at all; M. Petion knows that I can support a much longer journey with a great many in the carriage."

This alluded to his return to Paris after being stopped at Varennes, when the King, Queen, Dauphin, and Madame Elizabeth, with Barnave and Petion, were all in the same carriage.

There were some cries of *Vive la Nation!* as they passed through the streets; but on the whole the people were more silent and less tumultuous than was expected by many,
and

and the royal family arrived safely at the Temple.

The Princess Lamballe, Madame Tourzelle, governess of the royal children, and some other women of the Queen's family, were carried to the Temple at the same time.

There have been a great number of persons arrested since the 10th. All those who are known to have passed the night between the 9th and 10th in the palace of the Tuileries, or are suspected of it, are searched for with diligence. Two men accused of an intention of assassinating Petion have been taken up, and are in prison. What proofs there are of such an intention, I know not; but it is a very serious misfortune, at this particular time, to be under the suspicion.

While I was in the Assembly, some members proposed a call of the house, by way of ascertaining who were present during the late important sittings. It was at first agreed for the morrow at mid-day; but one calling

out "this night at midnight," this last proposal, which seems a little whimsical, was adopted.

The extreme sensibility and vivacity of the French prompt them too often to decide on sudden impulses, without taking time to weigh and deliberate. In the present instance, a rapidity of decision can be of no consequence; but they sometimes shew the same quickness in matters of serious import.

A little English phlegm would be of use in their councils.

I understand that those appointed to examine the papers of Mons. Laporte have found matters of accusation against the King, and the minister himself; and also some curious papers concerning the mysterious business of the pearl necklace, and Madame de la Motte.

August 16.

Having made it my business, ever since I
have

have been in France, to take every opportunity of conversing with the people, I find a great alteration, I will not venture to say in their sentiments, but assuredly in their discourse.

Before the 10th of this month, many spoke in favour of the King, and justified his giving the veto to the two decrees of the National Assembly—one respecting a camp of 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Paris, and the other regarding the priests who refused to take the oaths to the Constitution; they said, “ the King had a right, by the Constitution, to make use of this power of rejecting decrees at his discretion, and that none but seditious persons would attempt to force his consent.”

They blamed those, as such, who had excited the tumultuous procession of the inhabitants of the suburbs on the 20th of June; lamented that the executive power was not strong enough to punish them; hoped that
this

this would soon be the case; and declared their belief that the King was calumniated by factious men who were enemies to the Constitution, while he sincerely wished to maintain it according to the oaths he had taken.

Some tradesmen who did duty as national guards have acknowledged to me, that when called to arms on the night of the 9th, they considered that the purpose for which they were assembled, was to repel any attack on the palace, and defend the persons of the royal family; which duty it was their intention to perform, till they heard the general cry that the Swifs were massacring the people; and then they joined with the citizens against the Swifs, and those in the castle.

The truth, I have reason to believe, is, that few of the national guards took part in the action till the palace was forced, and the Swifs with all within it began to fly:
and

and if the fédérés and those from the suburbs had been dispersed, a great part of the national guards would have declared in that event, as they did in the other, for the victorious party.

Now every body seems to have the same sentiments, and hold the same language, namely, that the King was in correspondence with the emigrant princes, and betraying the country to the enemy. Certain papers have been found in the palace, which, it is said, make it very clear. On this subject I have not as yet been able to form a decided opinion; nor am I at all certain that the sentiments, which I hear announced by those who have surer grounds of judging, are conformable to their real opinion; for it is by no means safe to avow any way of thinking but one.

Great pains are taken to convince the people at large of the treachery of the court, and that a proscription was made, and a
massacre

massacre intended, of the most distinguished patriots, in case the court had been victorious: this is not only insinuated in the journals, but pasted up in printed papers on the walls all over Paris.

In the mean time, in the gardens of the Tuileries, in the Place de Louis XV. and Palais Royal, men are seen mounted on chairs haranguing to little circles which form around them: the continual theme of these orators, who are no doubt hired for the purpose, is the treachery of the King, and the profligacy of the Queen, whom they generally distinguish by the appellation of Monsieur and Madame Veto.

When I see such artful industry to enrage the people against the King and Queen, and hear of intended massacres without any proofs, so far from being convinced of the truth of what is so assiduously circulated, I rather dread that all these pains are taken to
prepare

prepare the people's minds for measures which cannot yet be avowed.

The influence of theatrical entertainments on the public mind is too powerful to be neglected on the present occasion: the music, the pantomime, and the new pieces brought forth, all are calculated to inspire sentiments and passions favourable to the second *Revolution*, for the affair of the 10th is already dignified with that name.

I am much mistaken, however, if there was not a considerable risk of its terminating so as that, instead of a revolution, it would have been called a rebellion; in which case we should have heard a very different language from the same mouths at the theatres.

August 17.

I have had a great curiosity to see the famous club of Jacobins ever since my arrival at Paris, which was not gratified till
this

this evening, when one of the members procured me admission.

This society originated in a small number of deputies from Brittany, who occasionally met at Versailles in the year 1789. Many deputies from other provinces, the most zealous for liberty, soon joined them; and even some of the same disposition who were not deputies, were admitted into the society, which then had the name of Comité Breton.

In this society it was first proposed to constitute the majority of the Estates General into a National Assembly.

When the National Assembly was transferred to Paris, this society held its meetings in the convent of Jacobins in the Rue St. Honoré, and assumed the name of Société de la Revolution, and afterwards that of Amis de la Constitution; but they are generally called simply Jacobins. A great number of the most distinguished for talents of the
Assembly,

Assembly; as well as of the citizens of Paris, were gradually elected members; and the number, I am told, has been above 1400.

The avowed business of this society is to deliberate and debate on subjects of government, and watch over the general interests of liberty.

Societies of the same name and nature are established all over France, which hold a regular correspondence with the parent society at Paris—and, by mutually communicating information and advice, act with wonderful efficacy on important occasions.

M. Alexander Lameth and M. Duport, as I have been informed, were the first who proposed the project of establishing societies of the same kind with the Jacobins of Paris all over France, and having a regular correspondence with them.

This constant intercourse accounts for the immediate and universal approbation which has been given through all the departments

partments to certain measures of the Assembly ; which must have appeared very extraordinary to foreigners, unacquainted with this constant rapid circulation of sentiment. I understand there are at least ten thousand societies of this kind in France.

Most questions of great importance are discussed in the Jacobin society of Paris, before they are introduced into the National Assembly ; and the success they are likely to have in the second, may be generally known by that which they have had in the first.

The hall in which the Jacobins meet, is fitted up nearly in the same style with that of the National Assembly. The tribune, or pulpit from which the members speak, is opposite to that in which the president is seated : there is a table for the secretaries and galleries for a large audience of both sexes, in the one as in the other. Men are appointed, who walk through the hall to command

command, or rather solicit, silence when the debate becomes turbulent at the club of Jacobins, in the same manner as the huissiers do at the National Assembly, and usually with as little effect: the bell of the president, and voices of the huissiers, are equally disregarded in stormy debates at both Assemblies: it is doubtful if Æolus himself, who

Luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras

Imperio premit,

could at once silence certain turbulent members, when

Illi indignantes magno cum murmure——

Circum claustra fremunt.

I have been told that some of the most distinguished members in point of talent and character, have lately withdrawn from this society, and that it is not now on such a respectable footing as it has been. Robespierre, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and of course cannot be of the present, has great sway in the club of

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I

Jacobins,

Jacobins, by which means his influence in the Assembly, and in the common council of Paris, is very considerable.

M. la Fayette, in his famous letter of the 16th of June, from the camp of Maubeuge, speaking of this society, says, “ La faction Jacobine a causé tous les desordres; c’est elle que j’en accuse hautement. Organisée comme un empire à part, et aveuglément dirigée par quelques chefs ambitieux, cette secte forme une corporation distincte au milieu du peuple François, dont elle usurpe les pouvoirs, en subjugant ses représentans et ses mandataires*.”

This letter to the National Assembly, and his leaving his army and appearing in the Assembly on the 28th of June, turned the

* The Jacobin faction has produced all the disorders; it is that society which I loudly accuse. Organized like an empire, and blindly governed by some ambitious men, this society forms a distinct corporation in the middle of the French nation, whose power it usurps, and whose representatives it subdues.

tide

tide of popularity entirely against him; and there is at present a rumour that General la Fayette is going to march his army against Paris.

There was not, properly speaking, a debate at the Jacobins to-day, but rather a series of violent speeches against him. I understand indeed, that of late the speakers are generally of one opinion; for Roberespierre's partisans raise such a noise when any one attempts to utter sentiments opposite to what he is known to maintain, that the voice of the speaker is drowned, and he is obliged to yield the tribune to another orator whose doctrine is more palatable.

The most universally agreeable motion that was made while I was present was, that a price should be set on the head of M. la Fayette, and that *chaque citoyen pût courir sus*; which is as much as to say, that any body that pleased to murder him should be rewarded for so doing.

A little before the Assembly broke up, one of the Marfeillois, who seemed not to be an officer, mounted the tribune: he said there was a report that the commissioners from the Assembly to La Fayette's army were arrested at Sedan; if so, that he and others of his countrymen intended to ask permission of the National Assembly to march to Sedan, and return with the heads of those villains who had presumed to arrest their commissioners.—“ Nous sommes,” continued he, “ des pauvres gens qui couchent sur la paille; mais quand il s'agit du bonheur de la patrie, nous nous montrerons des hommes du dix d'Août *.”

There were abundance of women in the galleries; but as there were none in the body of the hall where the members are seated; I was surprised to see one enter and take her

* We are but poor fellows, who lie upon straw; but when our country is in danger, we will display the same spirit we did on the 10th of August.

feat

seat among them: she was dressed in a kind of English riding-habit, but her jacket was the uniform of the national guards. On enquiry, I was informed that the name of this amazon is Mademoiselle Theroigne: she distinguished herself in the action of the 10th, by rallying those who fled, and attacking a second time at the head of the Marseillois.

She seems about one or two and thirty, is somewhat above the middle size of women, and has a smart martial air, which in a man would not be disagreeable.

I walked home about nine: the night was uncommonly dark; my way lay across the Caroufel, along the Pont Royal, to the fauxbourg St. Germain. I have frequently come the same way alone from the Caffé de Foy in the Palais Royal after it was dark. I never was attacked, nor have I heard of a single street robbery, or house-breaking, since I have been in Paris.

This seems to me very remarkable, in the ungovernable state in which Paris may be supposed to be since the 10th of this month.

The mob certainly killed on the spot several men on that day who attempted to steal the plate of the palace; they are easily excited to assassinate any body who is pointed out to them as a Chevalier du Poignard, or a traitor to the country. Society is assuredly, in a most dangerous and dreadful state, when a set of hot-headed ignorant men, assuming the prerogatives of judges and executioners, commit such excesses with impunity. But it is singular that those who carry their contempt of law and order a more criminal length than the highwayman and house-breaker, do not occasionally rob in the streets and highways also; and it must appear in a peculiar manner strange to persons accustomed to live in a country where there are frequent robberies and burglaries,

glaries, in spite of the government's being undisturbed, and the laws in full force, to find none where all the hinges and supports of law and government are loose, and shaking from a recent convulsion.

August 18.

The accounts of the commissaries from the National Assembly being arrested at Sedan, is confirmed.

M. de la Fayette having been advised by couriers from his friends at Paris, of what was intended, immediately sent directions to the magistrates of Sedan to arrest the commissaries as soon as they entered the town: he represented what had happened in Paris on the 10th, as the temporary insurrection of a mob, which would soon be quelled, and by this means prevailed on the magistrates to arrest and imprison them as impostors.

It would seem from this, however, that he is not perfectly sure of his army;

otherwise he would probably have allowed the commissaries to advance to the army, and then arrested them as rebels. It depends on the army whether the general or the commissaries shall be judged rebels.

In the mean time, the National Assembly have sent two new commissaries to instruct the department, to order the mayor of Sedan and fourteen of his assistant administrators to appear at the bar, and answer for their conduct; and the Assembly declare all who shall oppose these orders, infamous and traitors to the country, and decree that all the citizens of Sedan shall be responsible on their lives for the safety of their commissaries.

A deputation from the battalion of Marseilles came to the bar this day, and made the same offer which they announced last night at the Jacobins, namely, to bring the heads of the magistrates of Sedan on pikes to their bar.

They

They were thanked by the president for their generous offer ; but were told at the same time, that the Assembly preferred seeing the magistrates in the usual form with their heads on their shoulders.

A price is put on the head of M. la Fayette ; and, according to the ancient phrase, *chaque citoyen peut courir sus*.

Decrees of accusation are made against Barnave, Alex. Lameth and others, who, although now considered as traitors, were thought patriots formerly.

There is often as little candour among zealots in politics, as those in religion. He whose religious creed or ideas of freedom keep the hundredth part of a degree beneath theirs, is considered with as much horror and contempt as the avowed atheist or most slavish courtier.

August 19.

They talk of forming a fortified camp for 40,000 men near Paris, including Mont Martre,

Martre, and all that side of the city which lies next to St. Denis; which looks as if they began to dread the approach of the Germans.

I saw no signs of this however at the Champs Elisées, through which I drove this evening.

All those extensive fields were crowded with company of one sort or other; an immense number of small booths were erected, where refreshments were sold, and which resounded with music and singing. Pantomimes and puppet-shews of various kinds are here exhibited, and in some parts they were dancing in the open fields. "Are these people as happy as they seem?" said I to a Frenchman who was with me. "Ils sont heureux comme des dieux, Monsieur*," replied he.

"Do you think the Duke of Brunswick never enters their thoughts?" said I. "Soyez

* They are as happy as the gods.

sur,

sir, Monsieur," resumed he, "que Brunswick est précisément l'homme du monde au quel ils pensent le moins *."

One fellow, on a kind of stage, had a monkey who played a thousand tricks. When the man called him aristocrate, the monkey flew at his throat with every mark of rage; but when he called him un bon patriote, the monkey expressed satisfaction, and caressed his master.

I see a great many monkeys every day, who affect to be bons patriotes.

One has no great objection to those patriots who dance about like monkeys; but they who to the airs of the monkey join the disposition of tigers, and dance with heads upon pikes, are horrible.

A petition was read to the Assembly, in which, with others of the same stamp, was this affected and inhuman expression, "Que

* Depend upon it, Sir, that Brunswick is the man on earth of whom they think the least.

toute

toute communication entre Louis XVI. et son épouse cesse. La France sera sauvée lorsque cette Medicis ne soufflera plus ses fureurs dans l'ame du nouveau Charles IX *."

They must surely have the hearts of tigers who could suggest such an useless piece of cruelty, and come parading with it to the bar of the National Assembly.

There is not, besides, the least resemblance between the yielding disposition of Louis XVI. and the stern ferocity of Charles IX.; and the Queen of France was never before accused, even by her greatest enemies, of the dissimulation, treachery, and cruelty of Catherine of Medicis.

August 20.

I was several hours this day at the National Assembly. Brissot and Lasource, and

* Let all communication between Louis XVI. and his wife be put an end to. France will be saved when that Medicis shall no longer have it in her power to inspire her fury into the soul of this new Charles IX. . .

many

many others spoke. I was not surprised at the eloquence and ingenuity of their discourses, because I had read some of the writings of the former, and had heard of the talents of both ; but I was surprised at the number of speakers, and that all delivered themselves with facility.

In point of ingenuity, learning, and strength of reasoning, there is perhaps as much difference between the speakers of the National Assembly, as there is between those of the House of Commons ; but in facility of utterance and flow of words, all the speakers in the former are nearer on an equality.

I have not seen among them any of that hesitation and perplexity of expression which is sometimes observed in the House of Commons ; yet one might imagine that young members, and all who are unaccustomed to speak in public, would feel themselves more embarrassed in speaking
from

from a lofty conspicuous place, such as the tribune of the National Assembly, than speaking in their place, as is done in the House of Commons.

I have not heard one speaker from the tribune who wanted either words or courage in pronouncing them. As for *mauvaise honte*, there is no such thing in this country: I wonder how they came by the expression.

The British Ambassador informed me to-day that he was recalled.

The Princess Lamballe, Madame de Tourzelle, Mademoiselle Pauline de Tourzelle, and some other attendants on the King and Queen, were carried from the Temple to what is called La Maison Commune, and there interrogated respecting certain secret correspondences they are accused of having carried on. And after this examination they were carried to a prison
named

named *Hotel de la Force*, instead of being conducted back to the Temple.

How shocking to treat persons of their rank and sex with such indignity and cruelty, whose greatest crime seems to be attachment to their benefactors ! If it were even proved that they had endeavoured to carry on the correspondence with which they are charged, this cannot excuse such treatment. In times like these, the passions of hatred and revenge burn with augmented violence ; and when, in addition, they are excited by conscious guilt and personal fear, they carry men to the height of wickedness.

I have been told that some persons of horrid dispositions have been lately added to the acting committee of the Commune de Paris.

August 21.

I advised Lord Lauderdale to leave Paris and go to Spa ; but it is difficult at this time

to obtain passports : they have been refused to many strangers, who for some time past found Paris a disagreeable residence, and thought it would become more so, as the German armies, who have already entered France, were advancing to the capital. British subjects in particular are about to lose one great inducement to remain, by the expected departure of Lord Gower and Lady Sutherland.

Before we left England, it had been suggested, that, at such a period, we might meet with the difficulty we now experienced. Lord Lauderdale therefore had accepted of a letter from M. Chauvelin to the mayor of Paris, the import of which was, desiring him to facilitate our proposed journey to the south, in case of any difficulty or obstruction.

This letter had been left at the house of the mayor ; but the confusions which took place immediately after our arrival, prevented our having seen him. It was ima-

gined that through his influence we might obtain passports. An acquaintance of M. Petion offering to conduct us to the Maison de Ville, we determined to make the trial.

When we arrived at the outer gate, and told our business was with the mayor, we were admitted. There was a body of about fifty men under arms at this time before the gate. The Maison de Ville had more the appearance of the head quarters of the general of an army, than the residence of a mayor. One of the national guards took hold of my cane, asking if there was a concealed weapon in it. I presented it, and told him there was not. An Englishman, who was in the uniform of the national guards, addressed me in his native language. I told him we had brought a letter from M. Chauvelin to the mayor, and wished to see him.

What this man's name is I know not; he seemed to have some authority among them,

for he immediately conducted us up stairs, and through some rooms, into a large hall, where there were ten or a dozen soldiers with their arms, besides officers and others, who I suppose were waiting to speak to M. Petion. When the Englishman had sent in our names by a servant who attended for that purpose, he left us, and I never saw him afterwards.

While we waited in this hall, a corporal came and asked if we had received any order or ticket for admission to the place where we were ; for without these nobody who did not belong to the guard ought to remain. We informed him of our business, and that we were English ; on which he desired us to stay, saying, the mayor would wait on us directly. Many people in municipal scarfs, or officers' uniforms, passed and repassed. We were at length introduced.

M. Petion is a well-looking fair man, of a genteel

a genteel address and cheerful countenance, with an habitual smile. He made an apology for not having come sooner, saying, he had been detained by business which did not admit of an instant's delay. On telling him we wished for passports to Spa, by Givet, he said that, at that particular time, no passports were granted by that route; at any rate he would not advise us to take it, because we might run a risk of being pillaged by the Hulans, or other irregular troops of the Austrian army; adding, that within a very short time we might have passports for England.

We hinted an inclination to reside for a short time in some province of France, if we might remain there with safety, and could not go directly to Spa, but that it was necessary to have passports before we could be allowed to go out of Paris. M. Petion said, he was convinced that restraint would continue only a few days, but that Paris

was by much the safest place of France we could be in ; for that in the provinces alarms might be spread, and disturbances arise, while the enemy were in the country, but at Paris there would always be a sufficient force to keep all quiet.

On being asked if there were any news from the frontiers ?

He answered with a careless air, that he understood that Brunswick had entered France. He may advance twenty, or perhaps thirty leagues. Well, continued he, the farther he advances, the greater will be the loss of his army ; and if they continue to advance much farther, they will be entirely surrounded, and few of them will ever get back. The Prussians, added he, relied on a conspiracy here in their favour : the 19th of August put an end to that hope, and they will soon be bewildered, and not know how to proceed.

I heard him with a great deal of attention,
but

but very little faith in his prediction, and soon after we took our leave.

August 22.

Accounts are arrived that M. la Fayette finding no disposition in his army to adhere to him, but, on the contrary, that many of the officers, and almost all the soldiers, were for supporting the decrees of the National Assembly, has retired from his army with a part of his principal officers, and is supposed to have gone to Holland in his way to England.

M. Kerfaint, and the other commissaries who were imprisoned at Sedan, are now set at liberty, with many apologies from the Commune for the treatment they had received, which they impute to the misrepresentation of La Fayette, on whom they transfer the name of traitor, which they had before bestowed on Kerfaint, who, with his companions, is now with the army, where

K 3

they

they have been received with acclamations of joy.

This is not precisely the issue I expected when I first heard of the commissaries being sent, and still less what I thought probable on hearing of their imprisonment.

Nothing now is heard of but addresses from all parts of France to the Assembly, congratulating them on what they call the glorious victory of the 10th of August, and highly approving of the suspension of the King.

This however does not prevent us from wishing to have it in our power to remove from Paris when we think it expedient; a wish which is rather increased by my having heard it repeatedly asserted by some of my French acquaintance, that it is generally believed that many agents from the Court of Great Britain are now in Paris, whose errand is to promote confusion, and excite that spirit of jealousy and sedition which already exists so much all over France.

On

On my laughing at this idea, a very sensible man, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly, and will probably be of the Convention, if that should ever take place, declared that he was convinced of the fact, and asked how the great number of guineas now in circulation at Paris could be otherwise accounted for ?

I answered, that I knew nothing of the circulation of guineas; but I had always understood that our Administration had too great a demand for them at home, to think of sending them abroad. At any rate I was persuaded they would not stoop to such a manœuvre, which was as unjustifiable as it would be for the executive power of France to smuggle over men to England, for the purpose of exciting seditious insurrections against the British Government.

He allowed that it would be just as bad in the one as in the other ; and repeated

K 4

his

his persuasion, that it had been done by England, but not by France.

As I was entirely convinced that he was in an error, I took a good deal of pains to remove it, but without success; and I mention it as a very strong instance of the power of prejudice over a very acute and enlightened mind.

However groundless this notion is, its prevailing among the mob of Paris may be attended with disagreeable consequences to the English here, at a time when government is so feeble; and when, notwithstanding the prudent conduct of the British Ambassador, his being recalled is a sufficient mark of the disapprobation of his Court of the late measures.

I determined to call on M. Claviere, the ministre des contributions, for whom I had a letter from M. Durouverie, and try whether, by his influence, we might not get passports to leave Paris. His porter informed

formed me last night, that he saw people on business from six in the morning till nine. I called at his hotel this morning at eight, and was conducted into a room where several people were waiting. My name was taken down in writing, as those of all present had previously been, and carried to the minister. I was called in my turn; and after I had informed him of my business, he wrote a letter to M. le Brun, the minister for foreign affairs, whose business it is to give passports, recommending it to him to provide Lord Lauderdale and me with them, as soon as the present interdiction was removed.

M. Claviere then said, " that the affair of the 10th, he understood, had been greatly misrepresented in England, but that all Europe would be soon convinced that all the blood shed on that day was owing to the treachery of the Court; that France had determined to be free, and would not suffer

any thing within its own bosom to undermine or counteract that freedom ; that small states, such as Geneva, and even Holland, were sometimes obliged to suffer controul from their neighbours, with respect to their own internal government ; but that a powerful nation like France could not be dictated to ; and that whatever form of government the French should think proper by their representatives to choose, they were able to maintain ; and it was not in the power of all the Austrians, Prussians, and Russians on earth to prevent it."

Several new battalions, which are called *chasseurs nationaux*, have been raised lately. I was in the National Assembly when a deputation from them appeared at the bar: one spoke in the name of the rest. The object of his discourse was, to express the regret of his companions, and his own, at being so long detained in Paris, where they lived a life of idleness, while their wishes

were

were to hasten to the frontiers, that they might repel the enemies of their country, or perish in the attempt. They all earnestly requested the Assembly to issue immediate orders agreeably to their ardent wishes.

This speech was pronounced with grace, and heard with applause. The young orator and his companions were invited to the *honneur de la séance*, and about forty of them marched through the hall to their seats. Their uniform is blue jackets, with green epaulets, buff-coloured waistcoat, and narrow trowsers of the same cloth, and short boots, with very well contrived smart helmets. They were in general from about eighteen to twenty-four years of age, all very fine looking young men, and all, I am convinced, full of martial ardour: their appearance however approached nearer to Homer's description of Paris, than of Hector going to battle. I do not know what figure they will make in the eyes of the Prussians,
but

but they made a very brilliant one in the Assembly hall. I thought the ladies in the galleries would never have done with their applause.

August 22.

Nothing is more difficult than the discovery of truth regarding recent events of an important and complicated nature, which many people are interested in falsifying, and almost every body inclined to represent according to their own prejudices.

I have experienced this strongly in my enquiries concerning the incidents which occurred on the 10th of August, and the circumstances which led to the catastrophe of that day.

Every thing is viewed through such different mediums, and from such opposite points, that the various accounts which pour in from all quarters, cross, jostle, and confound each other in such a manner, that I have on some occasions been tempted to suspect,

suspect, that as my information increased my knowledge diminished.

I have sometimes had reason to imagine that all has happened in consequence of a preconcerted and well executed plan, the authors and conductors of which have been also mentioned to me.

On farther enquiry, I have been assured that there was no well digested design on either side; that a vast thoughtless mass of populace had been put in motion by a set of needy adventurers, who, without any precise object, wished for a new storm, in which they might be gainers, but had nothing to lose; that it was for some time doubtful whether the insurrection would terminate against, or in favour of the Court; that there was a very considerable chance of its ending, like that of the 20th of June, in mere parade, drunkenness, and noise; in which case it would have tended to the increase of the King's authority, by rendering
men

men more averse to the disgusting power of a rabble.

I have been told by others, whose authority is more respectable, that the plan was to seize on the person of the King, carry him directly to the castle of Vincennes, and there confine him till a National Convention should decide on his fate, and the future form of government: this it is believed was the plan of the Republican party, and that it was prevented from being literally executed, by the resolution which his Majesty took of going to the National Assembly, which the formers of this plan had not taken into their calculation.

It could not escape their reflection, however, that in attempting to seize on his person and carry him to Vincennes, he might very possibly be killed.

Whatever the secret wishes of particular persons in the Court might be, and whatever their connections with the enemies of France,

France, it seems evident that on the 10th of August the King's schemes were entirely of a defensive nature.

Some people think, however, that in the disposition in which a great part of the national guards were, and with the force assembled in the Tuileries, if they had been directed with ability, and the first advantage followed up with energy, the fédérés and the rabble from the suburbs would have been completely dispersed, the best part of the citizens would have declared for the King, and there can be little doubt of all the armies on the frontiers following their example. To accuse him of being the aggressor on that day, which is the common cry now, is without foundation.

The following particulars respecting the transactions of the 10th of August, I began to insert in my Journal this day; and although I came to the knowledge of them at various times, some of them at later periods,

as appears in the original Journal, I have thought proper to put them all together under this date.

The motion made by M. Vaublanc before I left the Assembly on the 9th, and which I thought would have passed, namely, that the fédérés should be ordered to remove from Paris, although it was frequently renewed by him and others, was always postponed, and never decreed.

The Assembly continued sitting all the night of the 9th; but for some part of the time there was not always during that time the legal number to make a decree, namely two hundred.

Petion the mayor was in the palace till two or three o'clock of the morning of the 10th. He had been with the King to give an account of the state of Paris, but remained in the palace or on the terrace after leaving his Majesty; which gave occasion for spreading a report among the citizens, that he
was

was kept there against his will, as a pledge for the safety of the King; and it was even asserted in the Assembly, that he was retained by force in the palace: but that was refuted by one of the members declaring he had seen him a few minutes before walking on the terrace of the Feuillans with another municipal officer; they had both come out of the palace for a little fresh air, and were about to return to it, when this member spoke to them, and Petion told him that he intended to remain there till the public tranquillity was re-established.

Notwithstanding this assurance, as suspicions of his danger were insinuated, it was thought proper to send a message to the palace for the mayor, which was accordingly done, and he directly came to their bar.

This is a satisfactory proof that Petion was under no controul from the King; and, in my opinion, it forms a presumption that the mayor was not privy to any plot against

the life of the King, or even of any intention to seize his person and carry him to Vincennes; for he could not imagine that either the one or the other could be accomplished without a contest, in which it must have occurred to Petion that he would have been sacrificed, and therefore he would have taken care not to be present.

It is said by some, that he went as a spy to examine what force there was in the Tuileries, and consider in what parts the castle would be attacked with the most advantage; also to mark who were the leaders, that he might afterwards be their accuser.

This however would have been a service of great danger, and as unnecessary as dangerous; a hundred other people were better qualified than Petion to have given this information.

On his arrival at the palace that night, he went directly and made his report to the
King

King; all the time he remained afterwards, he was under the eye of the Swifs, and of gentlemen attached to his Majesty.

There is reason to imagine that Petion, having had some hint of a measure intended to be taken at the town-house, and not approving of every part of it, chose rather to be at the palace than there during that transaction. Soon after his going from the palace to the National Assembly, he was confined to his own house under a guard, by the Council General of the Commune de Paris, that he might not seem to have any part in transactions which were of a nature more violent and decisive than was agreeable to his character.

The measure here alluded to was as follows:—While the tocsin was sounding, the general beating, and the citizens of course under arms at the alarm posts, a few of each section, under the pretext that the present common council of the city of Paris had

lost the confidence of the people, assembled and elected new members for that council, instead of the former, to the number of near two hundred.

Those new chosen counsellors went directly to the hall where the council general of the community assemble, declared themselves the real council, drove out the other all except Petion, Manuel, and Danton, and then began the exercise of their functions in a more vigorous manner than ever was known before.

Mandat, the commander in chief of the national guards, is now represented as a traitor, whose design was to massacre the people. But I understand from those who have been long acquainted with him, that he was an honest man, though of no extensive capacity; and of his treason I have heard no other proof than that he thought it his duty to oppose the entrance of the multitude into the King's palace, in case they should attempt

tempt to force their way ; and that he had encouraged those under his command to adhere to the constitution, and defend the royal family from violence. Mandat had also taken a prudent step in placing a party of the national guards on the Pont Neuf with some cannon, on purpose to cut off the communication between those who were assembling in the different suburbs of the opposite sides of the river.

The new council general saw the detriment that this post was of to their designs ; they therefore sent some of their body with the scarfs of the municipal officers, to order the guard to be removed from the bridge, and a free intercourse to be opened between the insurgents on each side of the Seine.

The ancient council were of the same sentiments with Mandat. He had therefore given no direction to the officer who commanded at this post, not to obey any order which came from them ; such an idea could

not naturally occur to him, for neither he nor the officer knew that the original council was dissolved, and that a new one had usurped their authority; this officer therefore obeyed what he thought a legal power, and removed his guard.

The new council about the same time sent a message to Mandat to come to the town-house, on the pretence that they had something of importance to communicate to him regarding the public safety. Mandat did not immediately go; he was at the Tuileries with a large body of national guards when he received this message, and fresh parties of the national guards were arriving every minute to put themselves under his command, and he was assigning them their posts.

A second message, more pressing than the first, came to him while he was thus employed—He then thought he could delay no longer—he left the palace about four, and hastened

hastened to the town-house. It is said, that he had an order in his pocket, signed by Petion, authorising him to repel force by force, in case the populace attempted to force their way into the palace. The council wished to get possession of this order.

On his entering the hall where the council were met, he was surprised to see a very different assembly from what he expected. They accused him of a design to attack and slaughter the people during their intended march from the suburbs to the palace, and of having made arrangements for that purpose.

The man was equally confounded at what he saw, and what he heard,

After a short examination, he was desired to withdraw; but as he arrived at the top of the stair, he was shot through the head with a pistol, and at the same instant thrust through the body.

The council then appointed Santerre com-

mander in chief of the national guards. This Santerre was originally a brewer, and carried on a great trade in the suburbs of St. Antoine, where he gave employment to a very considerable number of men. As his manners and conversation were on a level with those he employed, it is not surprising that he was popular, and had influence in that neighbourhood. How a person in his situation, and with his manners, came to attract the attention of the Duke of Orleans, is not so obvious.

I am assured, however, that the Duke did honour M. Santerre with his acquaintance, and had him occasionally at his convivial parties, previous to his being honoured with the command of the national guard.

The council assumed the whole authority, and sent orders wherever it was thought necessary, which were generally obeyed.

The officer who had been appointed by Mandat to guard the arsenal, was ordered
by

by the council to repair with the men under his command to the suburbs of St. Antoine. A number of muskets from the arsenal were distributed among the people; and the guard, whose duty it was to have prevented this, marched at the head of those people against the Tuileries.

That a body of men elected at midnight, in the midst of confusion and alarm, should be able to annihilate an established council, usurp all the executive authority, and find itself instantly and universally obeyed, will seem very extraordinary.

It is not to be imagined however that this originated in an instantaneous resolution of the various sections of Paris: all had been arranged by a junto of men, of which Danton was supposed to be a leading member, and of whom the electors of the sections were the tools. The new deputies, having been previously pointed out by the junto, found little difficulty in dismissing the old; for,
beside

beside their being of bolder characters than their predecessors, it is natural for attackers to act with more spirit than those who defend, especially if the attack is made when it is not expected. And it is equally true that, in critical times, men are apt to shrink from responsible situations. Many members of the old commune therefore might not be displeased with the usurpation.

Whatever may be thought of this measure in other respects, it must be allowed to have had a decisive influence on the events of that night.

Previous to this, many circumstances appeared favourable to the King. There were about fifteen hundred gentlemen, officers, and others of various ranks within the palace, all attached to the King, and ready to die in his defence, and that of the royal family; there were a thousand Swiss in the barracks of the Caroussel, and about half that number of the national guards, who

usually did duty with them at the Tuileries; and before Mandat received the summons to the town-house, between two and three thousand of the national guards had arrived by his orders in different detachments at the Tuileries: formerly they had done duty by battalions, but by a late decree of the National Assembly, they were directed to do duty by detachments from all the various battalions. If the former method had continued, Mandat would have chosen those battalions which were known to be best affected to the King for this night's service; which would have been a very great advantage, as some battalions, particularly those of the sections of Petits Peres and Filles St. Thomas were entirely so. This being out of his power, and he ordering a detachment equal to three battalions, some of the disaffected must have been among them, and a few so inclined were in danger of corrupting many: however, these detachments, by coming early, manifested

manifested a desire of obeying their commander, and protecting the royal family.

Those various detachments brought with them twelve pieces of cannon, which were placed around the palace in the manner thought most advantageous for repelling an attack. Two were placed with a strong party at the Pont-tournant, which is at the distance of the whole length of the gardens from the palace, fronting the grand alley of the first, and the principal gate of the second. This bridge is over a kind of fossé, which separates the gardens of the Tuileries from the spacious Place de Louis XV.

Of all these troops the cannoniers were the most suspected of being unfavourably disposed to the King.

Beside the troops above enumerated, there was a body of a thousand cavalry, called gendarmerie à cheval, all under arms, and posted in various places, under different commanders, all attached to the King.

Another

Another circumstance in favour of his Majesty was that degree of indignation pretty generally felt by the inhabitants of Paris, exclusive of those of three of the suburbs, for the enormities that were committed on the 20th of June. When to these it is added, that the majority of the National Assembly certainly disapproved of the disorderly and alarming measures to which the multitude were prompted, and wished them checked, we must conclude, that with more unanimity, firmness, and decision among those who directed the council within the palace, the design of the original schemers of the insurrection would have been baffled; the event would have been different, perhaps the very reverse of what happened.

The most sincere friends of freedom must have been fatigued and alarmed by those repeated disorders, and willing to seize that opportunity of extending the power of the
King,

King, so far as is necessary to prevent them for the future.

As for the King himself, I am inclined to believe, from his mild and unambitious character, from his conduct since the commencement of his reign, from his piety, and from all I have heard from cool and candid authority since I came here, that it was his desire and determination to be faithful to the constitution, provided the constitution was allowed to be faithful to him; and that he desired no other alteration than such as could secure the prerogatives which the constitution allowed him.

That he ever entered into any engagement, or assisted any project for the restoration of the old government, is what I have found no satisfactory proof of.

Whatever plans may have been formed by the King and his council for the defence of the Tuileries, the repelling the assailants,
and

and for the measures to be pursued on their being dispersed, all were rendered ineffectual by the illegal and wicked, but decisive measure, of appointing a new council at the town-house, murdering the commander of the national guards, and by that council usurping the whole power of the State.

After Mandat left the Tuileries and went to the town-house, as he designed to return immediately, he left no particular orders. The various detachments of national guards which at his requisition were assembled around the palace, and in its different courts, were long in impatient expectation of seeing him : in his absence they knew not whom to obey, or how to act in the different emergencies which occurred.

About six o'clock in the morning, the King, who had not gone to bed the preceding night, descended into the courts of the palace to review the Swiss and national guards. He was accompanied by some persons

sons of rank, and officers of distinction. The Swifs began the cry of *Vive le Roi!* as soon as he appeared, and the national guards repeated it; but all the cannoniers cried, *Vive la Nation!* which not being accompanied with the other, was a sign of disapprobation.

From the courts the King went into the gardens, and reviewed the troops there, and on the terrace of the Tuileries: he afterwards walked all the way to the post of the Pont-tournant. On his return to the palace, he understood that some bodies of national guards, just arrived, seemed to have caught the disposition of the cannoniers; they shouted, *Vive la Nation!* and some of them cried, *Vive Petion!*

The detachments which had assembled early by orders of Mandat were disturbed at this, and at hearing nothing of their commander; some of them began to change their original dispositions, through the
 2 insinuations

insinuations and example of the cannoniers.

In the mean time an immense multitude, headed by the *fœderés*, were advancing from the suburbs of St. Antoine; every street and alley which led to the palace was crowded by rabble, and by parties of a kind of irregular national guards, some armed with fuses, and some with pikes, who came from every quarter of Paris, without knowing what was intended, or how they themselves were to act, and who were ready to cry, *Vive le Roi!* or *Vive la Nation!* according to the humour of the street through which they passed, and the turn which things might take.

The *gendarmerie à cheval*, who were drawn up in an opening near the Caroussel, were gradually shoved off their ground by the still augmenting multitude, and removed to the Place du Palais Royal, from whence also they were soon obliged to shift their

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ground.

ground. To allow cavalry to be thus pressed upon, and all their movements impeded, was rendering them useless, and exposing them to be infected, partly through fear and partly by example, with the spirit of the crowd which surrounded them, which accordingly happened ; for although they seemed in the morning determined to do their duty by defending the palace and royal family, and under proper management would probably have done so, yet being from the mere pressure of the crowd forced from one place to another, and in obedience to that crowd obliged to cry *Vive la Nation* as they rode through the streets, they gradually lost their original intention ; and afterwards, when they saw the Swiss give way, and flying through the Place of Louis XV. and the plain called the Elysian Fields, great part of this body of cavalry abandoned their officers, and attacked and cut down the unhappy fugitives, the very men whom that same morning

8

they

they had considered as their friends, and engaged in the same cause with themselves.

The gendarmerie à cheval were not the only part of the national guards who acted in this manner ; and it was pretty evident, a considerable time before the attack, that those who were placed in the garden and the courts of the palace were no longer to be depended on.

The whole body of Swiss, however, a party of national grenadiers, and all the officers, gentlemen, and others who were within the palace and immediately about the King's person, remained unshaken, and ready to sacrifice themselves in his defence and in that of his family.

After the King's return from the gardens, some arrangements were made for the defence of the palace ; parties were placed at different posts, and under the command of particular leaders. Among those leaders

M 2

were

were men who had, in the course of their lives, enjoyed high commands.

Of all belonging to the royal family the Prince and Princess Royal only had gone to bed; the Queen's anxiety on their account had made her insist on this the preceding night; the same anxiety prompted her to have them awaked early in the morning, as she saw danger approaching. The sight of her children was besides a cordial which her heart needed at a time so depressing and afflictive. I am assured that she behaved with great firmness on this very trying occasion; that she spoke in an encouraging manner to the guards, praising their loyalty and attachment to the royal family.

Nothing can be imagined more affecting than the condition of this unfortunate Princess. Who could behold, without the most sympathetic emotion, a Queen of France, the sister of Emperors, in the presence of her husband and children, imploring

ing the protection of a small band of gentlemen, and a few grenadiers?

Philosophy may demonstrate that a woman in a far inferior walk of life, when her husband, her children, and herself, are in the same danger, and who has as much, or perhaps more, happiness to lose in losing them, ought to command our sympathy in an equal, if not a superior degree.

After philosophy has demonstrated this, even those who admit the demonstration will still enter more warmly into the distress of the Queen, than into that of the woman in an inferior walk of life.

It may be repeated, that the latter is as worthy and as amiable as the former; that she loves her husband and her children, and is beloved by them as much; that in her more humble sphere, she enjoyed more happiness, and therefore in reality is in danger of suffering a greater loss than the other can. When the voice of philosophy has

M 3 repeated

repeated all this, what does the human heart answer?

Without disputing about what *ought* to be, but avowing honestly what *is*, the human heart, faithful to its first impressions, or prejudices if you please, will answer—I take a stronger interest in the distresses of the Queen.

A little after seven o'clock, M. Rhœderer, with other officers of the department, entered the room where the King was, and declared, “that the palace was surrounded by an irresistible number of armed men; that the national guards who had come early in the morning were corrupted, and more ready to assist than oppose the assailants; that the King, Queen, their children and attendants, were on the point of being slaughtered; and that there were no other means of safety left for them, but immediately to put themselves under the protection of the National Assembly.”

This

This was a most humiliating measure, particularly in the eyes of the Queen, who, on hearing this idea once insinuated before, had said that she would rather be nailed to the walls of the palace, and still shew the greatest aversion to going; but on its being urged that there was no other refuge for the King and her children, and that even this would be lost if not taken immediately—heaving a profound sigh, she said, “It is the last sacrifice, let it be made!”

The same motive of tenderness for her children which determined the Queen, prevented the King from hesitating longer. The whole royal family set out immediately, accompanied by a detachment of Swiss and of the national guards on duty within the palace. Those troops formed a lane along the terrace of the Feuillans, through which the royal family and their attendants walked to the hall of the National Assembly.

It is infinitely to be regretted that the

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King,

King, before he quitted the palace, did not direct those who remained within it, immediately to capitulate with the leaders of the insurgents, and throw the gates open to the people; this would have saved the lives of many gallant men, which, however expedient it might have been to risk in defence of the King and royal family, ought not to have been exposed for the preservation of the walls and furniture of a palace.

This is to be imputed to the concern and agitation of the King's mind at a time so critical and alarming: for I give no weight to the assertion of those who pretend that he took this step for the sake of having a double chance in his favour, that if the assailants were repulsed, he might be carried victorious to the palace; and if the reverse happened, he might still remain in safety at the Assembly.

Such an interpretation of this unhappy Prince's conduct is not surprising, at a time when

when his most indifferent and even laudable actions are perverted into crimes, by the unrelenting rancour of his enemies.

Some time before the King reviewed the troops in the courts and gardens of the Tuileries, M. Dejoly, minister of justice, had gone to the Assembly, and informed them of the King's having heard that uneasiness had been expressed respecting the personal safety of Petion: " His Majesty therefore assured the Assembly, that he had been glad to see the mayor of Paris in the palace; that he had ordered him to be treated with all proper attention while he remained, and allowed him to depart the moment the Assembly had sent for him. But his Majesty understanding that there were still great multitudes assembled in some of the suburbs, and that they spoke of marching to the palace and to the hall of the Assembly, he recommended it to the representatives of the people to consider of measures to prevent
the

the ill consequences which might attend such a step."

One member observed on this, that there were laws existing against disorderly assemblies of the people, and it was the business of the executive power to put them in execution.

Accordingly no measures for the King's safety were adopted by the Assembly; nor was any other notice taken of the message, than that conveyed in the crabbed observation just mentioned.

Offelin, a municipal officer, came to the Assembly to give an account of the state of Paris. He said, that at the section of Quinze-vingts he had found a great confluence of people; that it was with difficulty he could get into the hall where the president was: that they were occupied in making very violent motions; the following among others: That if the National Assembly had not decreed the *déchéance* by eleven o'clock at night, the tocsin should be sounded. Offelin said, he
had

had remonstrated against so violent a resolution ; that it would be affrontive even to a country Justice to dictate a particular judgment, and exact that he should pronounce it by a precise hour.

He proceeded to inform the Assembly of what he had observed at other sections : that he had met a drummer beating the general, and had gone to the guard-room, and required of the officer to order him to stop ; which the officer refused to do, saying, that what was done was by authority of Mandat. Offelin accused Mandat of being the cause of all the alarm in which Paris was, by ordering the general to be beat, by placing cannon at different posts, and by giving directions when the people should move with a petition to the Tuileries, to attack them in front and rear, and disperse them at all events.

Offelin added, that after his course through the sections, he had returned to the town-house,

house, where he saw Mandat arrive, who pretended he had received orders from Petion, which would justify all the measures he had taken; but that he had not shewn any such orders.

A member of the Assembly observed, that the mayor himself had acknowledged that he had ordered the commander of the national guards to double the number at every post, and to beat the retreat; and that, in fact, he understood that it was the retreat which was beat.

While they were disputing on this difference in the account, M. Dejoly returned to the Assembly, and said, As the disorders of the capital were every moment assuming a more alarming aspect, he imagined it would be proper to send a deputation of their members to be near the person of the King, as had been done on the 20th of June.

This was opposed by some; one of the
6 members

members said, that on the occasion alluded to, that *generous* measure of the Assembly had not prevented a perfidious and calumniating proclamation, by the King's authority, from appearing the following day.

Those who opposed so natural and so just a proposal, may be suspected of knowing of some violent measure being intended against the King, which they were unwilling to prevent.

Others however observed, that when one of the supreme powers of the constitution was threatened, the other ought to defend that which was in danger; therefore, as the King was threatened, it was the duty of the Assembly to fly to his assistance.

It was likewise proposed to invite the King to come to the Assembly, as a place of greater safety than the palace.

While this was debating, a serjeant of the national guard suddenly entered the hall, with evident marks of terror on his
counte-

countenance. He declared that he had just seen a battalion of Marseillois marching to the Tuileries ; that they had pointed their cannon against the palace. I believe, continued he, that the King is in danger of being assassinated. This man's emotion was so great, that he could hardly pronounce the last word.

In the mean time, some members of the council general, whose power had been usurped in the manner already mentioned, entered, and gave an account of that singular transaction.

It was directly moved by some of the deputies, to pass a decree against this usurpation, and restore the original council.

This was opposed by other deputies, some of whom no doubt had promoted the hasty nomination made by the sections, and approved of all that had been done by the new council.

One member, observing that there was

no

no likelihood of their coming soon to an agreement on that head, renewed the motion for sending a deputation to the palace, putting them in mind of the danger in which the King was.

To this another sullenly replied, that his constituents had not named him to the National Assembly, to be sent on deputations, but to serve the public ; he would therefore remain in the Assembly, which was his post, and die, if necessary, in the service of his country.

M. Emmery said, that he was as ready to die in the service of his country as any one ; but he also thought it his duty to do every thing in his power to preserve the life of the King, and the Royal Family, which he feared were in danger ; and therefore moved, that a deputation should be instantly sent to the palace to protect the person of his Majesty, and accompany him and his family

family to the hall of the Assembly, if they chose to come.

When this was about to be decreed, it was announced, that the King and Royal Family were on the way coming from the palace to the Assembly. This threw the Assembly into great agitation, and some of the members seemed apprehensive of the King's safety.

According to an article of the Constitution, "as often as the King goes to the Legislative Assembly, he ought to be received, and reconducted to the palace, by a deputation."

In the confusion of the present occasion, the president probably did not recollect this; but a number of the members of themselves went out to receive the King; and soon after, the King, Queen, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Elizabeth, entered the hall of the Assembly, a grenadier walking before
with

with the Prince Royal in his arms, whom he placed on the table of the Secretaries.

The King took his seat at the side of the president, and addressed the Assembly in the words already mentioned.

The Queen, and the rest of the Royal Family, placed themselves on the bench appointed for the ministers, three ladies of the court attending them.

After the King had spoken, and the president had answered, a short debate of a singular nature took place.

It was observed by a member, that "the Assembly could not proceed to business in the present situation ; that the more critical the state of affairs was, the more strictly ought they to observe the forms of the constitution. The words of the 8th article of the 4th section in the chapter on the exercise of the legislative power, are,

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Le corps législatif cessera d'être corps délibérant, tant que le Roi sera présent.*

He moved, therefore, that the King should be desired to place himself at the bar, adding, that he hoped the people would offer no violence to his person.

Cambon said, it would be more decent to place the King in the tribune, which the president had at his disposal.

Since, said another, the presence of the King arrests all our proceedings; and since, whether he remains at the side of the president, or goes to the seat at the extremity of the hall, he is equally under the protection of the representatives of the people; I move, that he be desired to take his seat at one of the extremities of the hall†.

* The legislative body shall cease to be a deliberative body as long as the King is present.

† There are places at each end of the hall, behind the benches for the members, and where strangers are admitted to sit.

At that instant the King whispered the president, who, addressing the Assembly, said that the King, of himself, desired to go to one of the ends of the hall.

If the King or his family wish to retire, said Cambon, they ought to have it in their power. The seats at the extremity of the hall are not proper for them ; the bar is still less so ; the place assigned by the constitution for the King, as chief of the executive power, is at the side of the president ; he cannot be seated at the bar.

To this a member replied, That although the King was chief of the executive power, he was still a citizen ; and therefore, like other citizens, he might sit at the bar, in which case he will not be within the limits of the Assembly, and we may debate with freedom.

The King on hearing this came directly down from his seat, and placed himself with

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his

his family on the benches destined for the ministers.

But it was observed, that he was still within the Assembly, and according to the constitution it would be impossible for the Assembly to do business. It was therefore moved, that the King should go into the box which has been already described. His Majesty and all the Royal Family, with some of their attendants, went accordingly and placed themselves within that box.

After which M. R hœderer (procureur of the department), who had come with the King, and had remained ever since at the bar, gave an account of many of the events above mentioned ; only, as he did not know of the death of Mandat, but thought him under arrest at the town-house, he said nothing of him, but declared that a vast multitude of people being assembled in the Carrousel, and cannon being pointed against the palace, some of the populace had knocked

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ed with violence at one gate ; on which he, with two municipal officers, had spoken to them. They said they had a petition, and must speak to the King. M. Rhœderer answered, that the whole could not enter, but he offered to admit a deputation of twenty of their number, who should be safely conducted to present their petition to the King ; and that they had retired to confer with their leaders on this proposal.

M. Rhœderer continued to narrate that he had, after this, spoken to the national guards within the area of the court, and told them, that although they were there to preserve the peace, yet the law allowed them, in case of their being attacked, to repel force by force, and that they seemed disposed to do their duty ; but on his speaking the same language to the cannoniers, they, by way of answer, had unloaded their pieces, and they plainly shewed that they would make no resistance whatever to the

multitude ; that having heard nothing of the commander in chief of the national guards, not knowing what his plan of defence was, and there having been no communication whatever between the department and the municipality since Mandat had left the palace to go to the town-house ; hearing every moment of fresh multitudes advancing from the suburbs, and perceiving no means of protecting the King and Royal Family, he had proposed that they should leave the palace, and seek an asylum in the National Assembly.

He had hardly finished his narrative, which was long and circumstantial, when an officer appeared at the bar, and declared that the gates of the palace were on the point of being forced ; that many citizens would be murdered, and begged the Assembly to think of some means of saving them.

M. Lamarque said, " Without examining
at

at present into the cause of those events, let us think only how to prevent the horrors that are threatened. I move that the Assembly shall instantly order ten of their members to go and admonish the people against such excesses ; invite them to peace, order, and obedience to law ; let the commissaries throw themselves between the defenders and the attackers of the palace ; prevent, if possible, this double massacre of citizens ; and I desire (continued he) to present myself to their first fire, if they shall fire on each other."

Guadet proposed also, that, as from M. Rhœderer's account, it appeared that the commander in chief was under arrest, they should appoint twelve members to go to the town-house, take the commander out of arrest, and re-establish the communication between the department and the municipality.

Some members said, they had just heard

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that

that the commander of the national guard had been killed.

“ If that is so (resumed Guadet), your deputation must be authorized to appoint some other officer to that place in his stead.”

The motions of Lamarque and of Guadet were both adopted ; and the president having named the members for the first deputation, they hastened to the Caroussel, to prevent the commencement of bloodshed.

A very short time after they were gone, the firing of cannon was heard, and a great noise in the garden of the Tuileries.

In the intervals of the cannonade, a continued fire of musketry was heard.

The people at the gates called to arms ; some of the deputies started up as if they intended to leave the hall ; others called, “ No, no, this is our post—here we ought to die.”

Merlet,

Merlet, the president, not being present, Vergniaud had sat as president; he now yielded his place to Guadet, who said,

“ In the name of our country, I require of the Assembly to remain calm and in silence.”

In this state they did remain for a considerable time.

The cries of victory were heard, and they were told that the Swifs were flying.

It was apprehended, that in their retreat they might enter the hall.

“ No armed force will enter here (said the president); I am just informed that many Swifs, who took no part in the action, are discharging their muskets in the air, to shew that they never intended to join those who fired on the people.”

The Minister of the Marine declared that he had carried orders from the King, to those Swifs who were around the hall, not to use their arms; and he desired that the Assembly

bly would order them to be accompanied, by municipal officers, to some place of safety.

At one time there was such a noise and bustle in the passage immediately behind the two small rooms in which the Royal Family were, that their attendants became apprehensive that some ruffians were about to break in and offer them violence; and therefore they endeavoured to wrench out the iron bars which separated the box from the hall of the Assembly, that the Royal Family might throw themselves into the hall, if necessary: the bars were not removed till the King himself assisted, and by repeated efforts at last forced the bars out.

It was thought necessary to authorise a commission to make a proclamation, inviting the people to respect the lives and properties of the citizens; the proclamation
to

to be preceded by the words, *Vive la Liberté*,
Vive l'Egalité!

It was proposed to add, *Vive la Constitution*!

This last was not adopted.

After this, the deputation from the new council, which had been elected the preceding night by the sections, entered the hall, and their president spoke in the terms formerly mentioned.

One of the most remarkable occurrences of that memorable day, and which forms the strongest contrast with most of the others, happened in the National Assembly itself.

After the Swiss began to give way, and when those ill-fated soldiers, assailed on all sides, were slaughtered without remorse, a citizen of Paris had the humanity and the courage to protect one of them whom he saw overpowered by numbers, and ready to be sacrificed.

Having

Having torn this poor Swiss from the hands of his assailants, he conducted him over the bodies of his countrymen to the bar of the National Assembly.—“ Here (cried the generous Frenchman) let this brave foldier find protection—I have saved him from the fury of my fellow-citizens, whose enemy he never was, and only appeared to be through the error of others; that is now expiated, and Oh! let him in this hall find mercy!”

Having expressed himself in such terms, he threw his arms around the neck of the foldier; and overcome by fatigue of body and agitation of mind, he actually fainted in the arms of him whose life he had saved.

The spectators could not but be affected by this scene. When the man had by their care recovered his recollection, he begged that he might be permitted to carry the Swiss to his house; for he said it would be

a happiness to him, to lodge and maintain, during life, the person whom he had had the good fortune to snatch from death.

Notwithstanding the indignation which the King and Queen must have felt at many things they had heard, they were the first who began the applause on this occasion, which instantly became universal.

The president addressed the citizen in these words: " L'Assemblée Nationale vous a entendu avec intérêt. Elle applaudit à votre courage et à votre générosité*."

Several of the national guards came and congratulated both the Swiss foldier and the citizen who had saved him.

A member of the Assembly proposed, that the name of the citizen should be inserted in the proces verbal, which was in-

* The National Assembly has heard you with pleasure, and applauds your courage and your generosity.

stantly

stantly agreed to; and one of the secretaries announced, that the generous citizen's name was Clemence, and that he was by profession a wine merchant.

Amidst the transactions of the 10th of August, and those too prevalent of late in this country, it is no small relief to the mind to meet with one of this kind.

On a review of all the well authenticated circumstances which have come to my knowledge, relative to the affair of the 10th of last August, it seems most probable that nothing more than a plan of defence was intended in the Tuileries, that the catastrophe of that day was owing to the usurpation of the new council of the Commune de Paris, the murder of Mandat, and the boldness of the fédérés from Marseilles and Brittany.

That if Mandat had refused to obey the summons of the new council, which he certainly would have done, had he known
that

that it was new; had he remained at the Tuileries to encourage the national guards by his presence and words, and had the council within the palace been more decisive and uniform, the attack on the Chateau would not have taken place; or, if it had, the event would have been very different, perhaps quite the reverse of what it was.

To talk of the King as a tyrant, who had formed a plan of bloodshed, &c. is of a piece with the groundless accusations, which men of all countries, when heated by the spirit of party, are apt to throw out against their opponents. So very far was Louis XVI. from wishing to shed the blood of the people, that there is great reason to believe that his aversion to every measure which might lead to that is one cause of the triumph of his enemies, and his own misfortunes.

As to the question of who fired first, it
appears

appears of little or no importance; for although it were proved that it was the Swiss, still it would be clear that the people were the aggressors. Did they not shew a determination to break into the palace? What were the Swiss placed there for? Was it to act as gentlemen-ushers to an armed multitude? No; they certainly did their duty as soldiers in firing upon those who came for no other purpose than to force their post; for whatever orders the King may have given not to fire, it is certain that the Swiss never received any such: they did not even know that he and the royal family had gone to the National Assembly. What motive but the generous sentiment of defending them from the fury of an outrageous rabble could influence the Swiss at the time the firing commenced? They saw plainly that the cannoniers were against them; that the national guards were hesitating, and unwilling

willing to act ; and that the foederés were bursting into the palace. If at such a moment they had remained passive, they would have forfeited that reputation of fidelity and courage which belongs to their country.

If orders from the King not to fire had been brought to the Swiss, which certainly was not the case (but let us for a moment suppose it), even in that case the principle of self-defence, as well as the peculiar sentiments of military men, would have justified them in acting as they did ; for at the instant, before the firing began, the fury of the assailants was so violent, that the Swiss had no security of not being massacred if they had not repelled them by firing ; and at all events they would have had their arms taken from them—an idea unsupportable to soldiers.

On the whole, to imagine that the King's

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party

party were the aggressors on the 10th of August, is as absurd as to suppose that the *forçerés* and their auxiliaries did not march from the suburbs of St. Antoine to the Chateau of the Tuileries, but that the Chateau went to the suburbs and attacked them.

August 23-

A prodigious number of people have been arrested since the 10th, and are now in prison. I am told that a very slight cause of suspicion is sufficient to produce these new kinds of *lettres de cachet*, which are issued by certain members of the Commune de Paris in great profusion.

What makes this the more dreadful, is, that those who are arrested have, at present at least, no means of forcing their trial to be brought on within a reasonable time—so that a man, when arrested and sent to
6 prison,

prison, does not know how long he may be confined before he has an opportunity of proving his innocence. It is a great while since some of the state prisoners at Orleans were confined, who have not yet been able to obtain a trial.

For those reasons, many persons who are conscious of nothing criminal, but merely not being connected with those who projected the insurrection of the 10th, have withdrawn from Paris, and some have absconded ; among the latter is Monsieur Narbonne, late minister for the war department. Having heard this gentleman represented as a warm friend to the cause of freedom, and as I understand that the report of the committee on his administration was entirely in his favour, I was surprised when first told that he had left the country: but the irregular and persecuting spirit which now prevails, and whose malignity is pecu-

liarly directed against men of noble birth, sufficiently justifies the step he has taken.

M. de Narbonne is as much distinguished by his talents as his birth, which renders him still more exposed to the attacks of envy and malevolence; for every species of pre-eminence is viewed with jealous eyes during the present rage for *égalité* — a term so easy to be misconstrued that it ought never to have been used.

I heard a man who is well acquainted with the character of the popular leaders declare, that he was convinced that certain persons, whom he named, and who are attached to Roland, would very soon become odious to these leaders, for no other reason than that degree of eminence which talents give, and of course would be pointed out by the populace as dangerous men.

This kind of jealousy is more universal
than

than may be imagined : in some it arises from their not being able to endure the consciousness of inferiority ; in others, from an idea that their own interest is most likely to be hurt by such men ; and in a third class, from downright stupidity, which makes them prefer men like themselves, and dislike those of a contrary character.

The present state of Paris seems what London would be during the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, and a suspension of the courts of justice at the same time.

If those mandates for arrests are wantonly given, as it is whispered to me they are, what a field is opened for the exercise of private malice and revenge ! Yet these people dance about the streets, singing hymns to liberty, without regarding the despotism exercised in their sight, without reflecting that their fellow citizens are imprisoned every day nobody knows why, and that

they themselves may be arrested to-morrow with as little reason. For my own part, I am exceedingly shocked at the accounts I hear of the proceedings of this new court of inquisition, called I think Comité de Surveillance ; and I have no patience with the indifference and gaiety of those who, being more nearly concerned, ought to be more shocked than I am.

During the execution of these arrests, the barriers are shut, and passports are in general refused—some, however, have been indulged with them. The Abbé Dillon, I am told, presented himself to take the new oath to Liberty and Equality — he was desired to sign it—he said, that when he had done so he expected a passport, as his affairs called him out of Paris. It was answered, that he could not have one at that time. How then can I swear to maintain liberty, said the Abbé, since I find I am not free ; or equality,

equality, when I know that others have had passports which are refused to me?

I was in the National Assembly when the note presented by the British minister on his being recalled was read; it was heard in silence, and no observation upon it was made.

All the ministers were at the bar.

Brissot then read a memorial to be presented to the Court of Great Britain, explanatory of the late measures. This seemed to be heard with approbation.

August 24.

At the National Assembly some Chevaliers de St. Louis offered their crosses as patriotic gifts, and as proofs of their love of equality. The gift is trifling—but the spreading this notion of equality may have mischievous effects: who knows what meaning *Le Peuple Souverain* may at last give to the word *égalité*?

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In the Tuileries and Palais Royal I remarked to-day a greater number than usual of itinerant haranguers of the populace. On joining the audience, I found that the subject at present is the *vices of Kings*. The folly, extravagance, and wickedness of the French Princes ever since the beginning of the monarchy was generally mentioned; and the perfidious cruelty, the effeminacy, the ostentatious emptiness, and imbecility of Charles IX. Henry III. Louis XIV. and Louis XV. were particularly pointed out. Henry the Fourth himself was not spared; his adventure with the Princess of Conti, and some oppressive laws made during his reign respecting the preservation of game, and the severe manner in which they had been put in execution, were strongly insisted on, to prove that even the best of kings are oppressors of the people.

It is not probable that men who had even that degree of historical knowledge which
makes

makes them acquainted with the characters of those Kings, would have spontaneously gone to retail it from a chair or table in those public places.

It follows that all those zealous orators are hired for the purpose of inspiring the people with a horror of monarchy, and with a love of another form of government.— Sometimes two orators stand upon opposite chairs, and dispute—one represents an aristocrat, and starts some feeble arguments in favour of monarchy—which are overset in the instant by the arguments of his democratic opponent, who overwhelms the defender of kings and nobles with ridicule, and exposes him, with those he defends, to the laughter of the audience: in short, every spring and engine which can have influence on the minds of the people, is set in motion to bias them against monarchy, and prepare them for the republican form of government which is certainly intended.

August

August 25.

I went this morning to the Temple. Great misfortunes interest the mind like great virtues. I do not believe that, during the short stay I propose to make in France, I should have thought of going to Versailles, had the Royal Family been living there in the same splendour I have seen them surrounded with on former occasions: but the cruel reverse they now experience, has seldom been absent from my thoughts since the 10th of this month; and although there was little chance of getting even a glimpse of them, I was attracted to the Temple merely because they are confined within its walls.

This building originally belonged to the order of Knights Templars which arose in the time of the earliest crusades, and was destroyed, with the most shocking circumstances of cruelty, on incredible prettexts, in the year 1313, by the avidity and revenge
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of Philip the Fair, with the concurrence of Pope Clement V. who was then in France. The ground which belongs to the Temple is surrounded by a high wall, on part of which are a kind of battlements which, I suppose, crowned the whole wall formerly. This wall also encloses a garden belonging to the principal body of the building ; for a great many houses and separate buildings have been added, which are inhabited by tradesmen who enjoy particular privileges, and before the revolution the whole was an asylum for debtors.

There were a great many of the national guards at the principal gate, and a party under arms in the inner court, when I arrived ; but on being informed that there was a particular spot behind the building, from which I had a greater probability of having my curiosity gratified, I went there in company with two gentlemen and a valet de place.

We

We were told that the King and Queen frequently walked in the garden ; and that the Prince and Princess Royal are seen there still oftener ; that the King, who discovers less concern than the rest, sometimes asks questions of the workmen who are employed in the garden, and in repairing part of the building.

We stood on a sort of rising terrace, from whence we could over-look the wall. A person whom I accidentally met on the spot gave me this information, and pointed out two windows in the tower which he said belonged to the apartment of the King and Queen, and at which they were sometimes seen. While I stood looking at these windows, occasionally asking questions of our informer, one of the national guards, who was a sentinel near the place, came up, and, addressing me, said, *Vous prolongez vos observations un peu trop,*
Mon-

Monfieur : paffez votre chemin, s'il vous plait *.

Before I had time to fpeak, the valet de place faid, Ces meffieurs font des étrangers—des Anglais †.

The fentinel replied, Ici je ne connais perfonne ‡, and then repeated what he had faid.

Mais, Monfieur, pourquoi || ? refumed the valet.

Pourquoi ! faid the fentinel a little fiercely, parcequ'il le faut §.

I checked the valet, and we did what the foldier required ; for, to borrow an expreffion of Dr. Johnson, *the request was reasonable, and the argument cogent.*

* You prolong your obfervations a little too much, Sir ; you had better be gone.

† Thefe gentlemen are ftrangers ; they are English.

‡ At this place, I make no diftinction.

|| But why ?

§ Why, becaufe it muft be fo.

I am

I am told the King and Queen are more strictly confined since Madame de Lamballe was sent to the Hotel de Force ; a proceeding which, of itself, is sufficient to fill them with vexation and terror.

The least attention towards the royal prisoners, beyond what is literally in the instructions given to those who attend them, creates suspicion, and gives offence. I was told that only two days ago the Prince Royal and his sister were playing at hand ball in the garden, the King and Queen were looking on ; the ball lodged in a part of the wall which the children could not reach ; one of the commissaries of the commune, who was present in the garden, ran with eagerness and reached down the ball to the Prince. This small piece of complaisance has been repeated and blamed.

Independent of every consideration of humanity, it would be good policy in those who have the government of this country,
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to treat the King and Royal Family with respect and with delicacy ; and independent of every consideration of policy, the situation of that unfortunate family is so affecting, that it might awaken the feelings of the most callous-hearted and interested statesmen, and incline them to measures of mildness, and even of generosity.

A contrary conduct will double every prejudice against the French Revolution, and revolt the friends of freedom from the present government of France.

August 26.

I have heard certain members of the National Assembly complain of the delays which have prevented the state prisoners from being brought to trial ; particularly those of Orleans. When I first heard this mentioned, I imagined it was from goodwill to the prisoners, who had been so long confined without being allowed an opportunity

tunity of justifying themselves ; but I soon found that those who made such complaints, took the guilt of all the prisoners for granted, and were only impatient for their execution. Indeed I heard this avowed one night at the Jacobins, by a speaker whose face I had never before seen, and whose name nobody I questioned could inform me of.

After this equitable and humane declaration, he asserted that the people expected that ample justice should be speedily done on all those traitors ; that the patience of the people began to be exhausted ; and then insinuated, in pretty plain terms, that if *le glaive de la loi* was withheld much longer, the people would seize it with their own hands, and do themselves justice.

If I was surprised at such sentiments, I was still more to hear them applauded by the audience in the galleries.

I afterwards spoke of this to an acquaint-

ance I have made since I came last to France, a Parisian. I said "I had taken some pains to discover the sentiments of the people on this subject, by questioning those tradesmen I had any opportunity of knowing, by frequently conversing with the shopkeepers, and with the company I met in coffee-houses; but I never had perceived in any of them an impatience for the trial or execution of the prisoners; nor had I ever seen any symptom of a sanguinary disposition in any of the people, except those in the galleries of the National Assembly, and the Jacobin club."

"The people you mention (he replied) are the industrious citizens (la bourgeoisie) of Paris: to them you do no more than justice—they certainly are not sanguinary—though, if they are much longer accustomed to see heads carried through the streets upon pikes, Heaven knows what they may become. But you must remember that the

rabble who inhabit some of the suburbs, although of a different character, still are the *people* as much as the others. And even with regard to them (continued he), they would know nothing of the prisoners at Orleans or elsewhere, unless pains were taken to inform them; and, if left to themselves, would not trouble their heads about them one way or the other.

“ Their rage is seldom excited, but by the high price of bread, when the only remedy they think of, is the dragging of a baker or engrosser à la lanterne: there would terminate their thirst of blood; they never would have a wish for the death of other prisoners, if they were not wrought upon by wicked and ambitious men. And still it may be asked, what interest even those men can have in exciting the minds of the people against the prisoners? Why, in some it may proceed from a view of being thought very zealous patriots; in others,

from private hatred, or a principle of revenge ; and in a third set, from a dread of what the prisoners may have it in their power to divulge when set at liberty.

“ As for the applause or murmurs of the tribunes (added he), they are no fair indications of the public opinion.

“ People are placed in different parts of the house, with directions who and what they are to applaud or condemn. Applauders and murmurers are to be had at all prices ; and as females are more noisy, and to be had cheaper than males, you will observe there are generally more women than men in the tribunes.”

Such is the most probable account I have received on this subject ; but on whatever principle this rancour against the prisoners depends, I am sorry to see it so active.

A petition was presented to the National Assembly, complaining of the delay of the High National Court of Jus-

tice, created for the trial of the prisoners at Orleans, and requesting its suppression ; and that these prisoners should be directly brought to Paris, and tried by the criminal court lately established here. This petition was intermingled with insinuations of the determination of the people to have justice ; that they would not be trifled with ; but, in case of longer delay, would be tempted to avenge themselves.

La Croix the president, a man of great firmness, made an answer which does him honour, importing “ that the High Court of Justice belonged to the Nation ; was instituted by the Constitution, and could not be suppressed by the National Assembly ; that such a power belonged to the Convention only ; that besides, it would be unjust to transfer to Judges, chosen by the single commune de Paris, that which the Nation had consigned to Judges elected by all the sections of the empire : you have sworn
equality

equality not only of individual with individual, but with respect to all the sections of France." He finished with these words : " Il est minuit, et les représentans du peuple n'ont point encore suspendu leurs travaux : sans cesse occupés des grands intérêts qui leur sont confiés, ils n'en feront détournés ni par les menaces ni par les dangers *."

There is dignity in this answer ; but that country must be in a sad state, whose legislative body are obliged to hear threats from a small portion of the people, without having the power of punishing them.

August 27.

The news arrived yesterday at the National Assembly, that the town of Longwy had surrendered to the Prussians.

* It is midnight, and the representatives of the people have not yet ended their labours : continually occupied with the great interests with which they are entrusted, they will not be prevented either by threats or dangers.

As this place is tolerably well fortified, and had a garrison of considerable force besides the citizens, the news was unexpected, and made evident impressions on the minds of the deputies. After a short silence, Jean Debry rose and made a speech on the present state of France ; observing, that destitute of a single ally, and attacked by a coalition of despotic princes without provocation, and for no other reason than that the French had thrown off a despotic and oppressive government, and established a more free and equal one, which the tyrants, who were combined against them, imagined might excite their own wretched subjects to attempt the same ; and therefore, forgetting former animosities, these despots made a common cause against France——he added, that as this was the most profligate and extraordinary cause of war that the world had ever known, it was necessary to repel and put an end to it by extraordinary

nary means. He therefore proposed that a body of 1200 volunteers should be levied, whose business should principally be—his words are, *dont la mission sera principalement de s'attacher corps à corps aux chefs des armées ennemies, et des rois qui les dirigent*; that is, whose business it should be to assassinate the Generals and Princes who commanded the armies which attacked France. He proposed that these select volunteers should be divided among the four armies which are now in the pay of France; that they should be clothed and armed in the manner best adapted to the purpose for which they were to be employed; that they should have two thousand livres of yearly pension, with reversion to their children to the third generation.

This motion was warmly opposed by Vergniaud, as unworthy of a free and enlightened nation, equally unjustifiable and inexpedient; “for (said he), even if no argu-

ments of justice or humanity could be urged against such a measure, how can you prevent the same from being used against yourselves? If you form a band of tyrannicides, will not your enemies raise brigades for the purpose of assassinating the leaders of your armies? In such a situation, whom will you have to command your armies?"

To this it was answered, "That the same reasons which are good respecting the conduct of other wars, do not apply to this: this is a war of despotism against freedom, and must end in the destruction of the one or the other. If a stranger enters a house by violence for the avowed purpose of dictating the domestic economy of the family, saying, I do not approve of your plan of life within these walls; you must arrange matters more to *my* taste, otherwise I will put you all to death—are not the family justifiable in destroying this intruder by every means in their power?"

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" Our enemies, we are told, will make reprisals. They certainly will ; but they will as certainly use every means in their power for our destruction, whether we pass this decree or not."

Lariviere spoke with much fervour against the decree. Other members spoke personally to Jean Debry, urging, that the passing such a decree might cause the immediate murder of many citizens of the town of Longwy, now in the hands of the Prussians.

This last argument prevailed. Debry said: " As I consider the life of one innocent person as of more value than any project of decree, I consent that mine shall be sent to the *commission extraordinaire*."

Lariviere exclaimed, that even this was unworthy of the French nation, and he demanded the order of the day.

It was sent however to the committee ; and there I hope it will be buried, as it ought, for ever.

It

It will seem surprising that such a project was produced in the National Assembly, and was afterwards approved of by some persons without doors, who quoted the examples of Scævola, Pelopidas, Timoleon, Brutus, and drew a comparison between this intended brigade of 1200, and the famous band of Greeks who obtained the appellation of the sacred band. Without entering into the merits of this comparison, it is evident that the publicity of the decree was a pretty sure means of rendering it ineffectual.

A report was made to the Assembly, that several members had been indirectly making application for passports, that they might leave Paris at this crisis.

It was immediately proposed to decree, that every deputy who should abandon his post at this time, with or without a passport, should be declared infamous, and a traitor to his country. Thuriot said, they ought
to

to have some mercy on those who quitted a post of which they felt themselves unworthy.

François de Neufchateau proposed, that they should swear, not to leave their duty as deputies till they should be replaced by those chosen for the National Convention. At the instant all the members rose and pronounced this resolution ; an account of which was ordered to be sent to every department of France.

Servan, the minister at war, has written to General Luckner in the following terms: the letter was read in the National Assembly.

“ J’ai été comme vous, M. le Maréchal, pénétré d’indignation contre les laches ou les traîtres qui ont livré à l’ennemi la place de Longwy. Comment ! deux mille trois cents hommes de garnison, dans une place bien fortifiée, bien approvisionnée, ont-ils mis bas les armes, avant d’avoir souffert les horreurs d’un siège, et d’avoir vu leurs forteresses
ouvertes

ouvertes en brèches! Et ce feroient-là des Français animés de l'esprit de la liberté? Non, ce ne sont que des laches!

“ J'imagine, M. le Maréchal, que vous n'avez point tardé à assembler un ~~cour~~ martial pour juger ces coupables. Qu'ils perdent la vie avec ignominie tandis qu'ils auroient pu la défendre avec honneur, ou la perdre avec gloire, et utilement pour la patrie. Il faut que la France apprenne la punition en même tems que le crime; que cette punition donne du courage aux plus laches, et qu'elle venge le nom Français*.”

This

* I was equally with you, Sir, filled with indignation against the cowards or traitors who have surrendered the town of Longwy to the enemy. How! a garrison of two thousand three hundred men, in a place well fortified and well provided, to lay down their arms without having suffered the horrors of a siege, or any breach having been made in the ramparts! And are those Frenchmen animated with the spirit of liberty? No, they are a set of cowards.

I imagine,

This letter was universally applauded ; and a little after M. Dubayet, a lieutenant-colonel of a regiment and member of the Assembly, demanded permission to join his regiment then on the frontiers, adding, " I leave all my family as hostages."

This was opposed ; because, as was observed, if it was granted, all the military men then in the Assembly, who no doubt are equally willing to serve against the enemy, would demand the same permission, which ought to be granted to none, except on condition that they gave in their demis-

I imagine, Sir, you have already ordered a court martial to try those criminals : let them lose their lives with disgrace, since they have not chosen to defend them with honour, or risked losing them with glory to themselves, and utility to their country.

It is expedient that France should hear of the punishment as soon as the crime, that the punishment may give courage to the most cowardly, and avenge the French nation.

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son as members, that others might be elected in their stead.

Dubayet said, That he did not consider himself at liberty to resign a situation to which he was appointed by his country ; but that his situation was different from that of his brother officers ; for the regiment of Bourbonnois, of which he is lieutenant-colonel, is actually on the frontiers, nearest the enemy, which is not the case with respect to the regiments to which any other military officer in the Assembly belongs. “ Ah ! de grace, messieurs,” continued he, “ permettez moi d’aller montrer aux braves soldats que je commande, un officier qui ne veut point practiser avec les ennemis de la liberté. Je ne veux point le pardon de ces traîtres ; je ne veux point de paix avec les hommes féroces qui devassent le pays qui les vit naître ; je leur déclare la guerre pour toute ma vie. Permettz moi d’aller

d'aller les combattre, les vaincre ou mourir*."

One of the members observed to him,
" Vous avez juré, comme nous, de mourir au poste où vous êtes, vous ne devez pas oublier ce ferment †."

The Assembly passed to the order of the day.

There are people who think that, at this crisis, a deputy who leaves the National Assembly to join his regiment on the fron-

* For heaven's sake, gentlemen, allow me to go and shew to the brave soldiers I command, an officer who will not capitulate with the enemies of liberty; I do not ask the pardon of those traitors; I desire no peace with those ferocious men who lay waste the country which gave them birth; I declare everlasting war against them. Permit me to go and oppose them, that I may conquer them, or die.

† You have sworn, as well as we, to die at the post where you now are placed; you ought not to forget that oath.

tiers,

tiers, would quit the post of danger for one where he would be safer.

The Assembly have decreed, that there shall be an immediate levy of 30,000 men in Paris and the neighbouring departments. A number of petitions were read, some of them more remarkable for zeal than wisdom; but as they were all expressive of patriotism, they were heard with patience by the Assembly, and with applause by the galleries.

A great number of patriotic donations, of no great value, were made; chasseurs, who are to set out immediately to the frontiers, require the honour of marching through the hall: this is never refused.

The students of a college collect a small sum, and present it for the use of the widows and orphans of those killed on the 10th. One man sends a piece of old plate; another, having no plate, sends his silver buckles; one sends four or five muskets; another as many swords, for the use of those who

march to the frontiers. A body of cannoniers appear at the bar, and desire a piece of ground to practise in. "The enemy are advancing," said the speaker: "vos braves cannoniers brûlent de les terrasser."

It is natural for strangers to blame the Assembly for allowing their deliberations to be interrupted in this manner.

It ought to be remembered, however, that the serious part of the business is carried on in committees, free from all disorder and interruption.

It should likewise be remembered, that many of those things which create noise, tend to keep the people in good humour, which of itself is a great point; they also contribute to keep alive that enthusiasm which alone can enable the French nation to withstand the powerful combined attack which bears from all quarters against it.

Servan's letter was a cordial well calculated for preventing the increase of that de-

jection which the news of the surrender of Longwy had begun to spread. A member soon after ascended the tribune, and desired to acquaint the audience with the dispositions in which the citizens of Sarrelouis were. He then read a letter from the magistrates. They write, that the enemy are within a league of their town. "In a few days we shall hear the roaring of their cannon (add they), and we expect to be besieged immediately; but our inhabitants and garrison, so far from imitating those of Longwy, are determined to be cut to pieces (*de se faire bacher*) rather than give up the town."

How the magistrates and inhabitants of Sarrelouis will behave when it is brought to the test, nobody can tell; but nothing can be more certain than that their letter had an admirable effect upon the people in the tribunes, who, by their enthusiastic applause, plainly shewed that they thought no more of the loss of Longwy.

It must be confessed, that those people have a most happy disposition for viewing objects in a favourable light, who are comforted for the *actual* loss of one town, by the *promise* that another will be better defended.

August 28.

Lord Gower and his family left Paris yesterday to return to England: this gives more concern to many of the most intelligent of the French, than even the surrender of Longwy. They consider his Lordship's recall as a pretty strong presumption of the unfavourable disposition of the British Court. Independent of all political considerations, which may be supposed to incline them to keep well with Great Britain at this particular juncture, I am greatly deceived if they have not a higher esteem for the national character, and more good-will to the individuals of it, than for those of

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any other country in Europe. They also imagine it is for the mutual interest of both countries, that they should continue on good terms. They allow that at the present moment France has a more pressing interest in this good fellowship than England ; but they assert it is the reverse in general.

The French think they are losers by the commercial treaty ; and they pretend that they abide by it notwithstanding, to give an unequivocal proof of good faith and good will to the English nation.

Talking very lately with a Frenchman on this subject, he observed, that he understood it to be a prevailing notion in England, that the English are better fighters and worse negociators than the French ; “ but continued he), without admitting the truth of the first part of that opinion, I imagine there cannot be a stronger proof of the fallacy of the second, than the late commercial treaty, by which England has gained
more

more from France than she ever did by the most successful war."

That prejudice in favour of the character of its own inhabitants, which I know no nation devoid of, I believe the French possess in full as great a degree as their neighbours: it would be very singular if they did not, considering how much their manners have been imitated, and their writings admired, by all Europe for these two centuries past.

But with whatever complacency they contemplate themselves, the very lowest among the French shew no positive hatred to foreigners. They may perhaps imagine that it is an honour to be born in France; but they do not think it a disgrace to be born elsewhere, as the people of the same rank in England certainly do.

If a French coachman or fish-woman quarrel with a foreigner, they will make no scruple to give him the worst name they

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can

can think of ; but after they have called him a scoundrel, or whatever other abusive name occurs, they do not add, by way of aggravation, *Italian* scoundrel, *German* scoundrel, or *English* scoundrel ; whereas those who deal in this kind of rhetoric in England, are never contented with calling a foreigner, whom they abuse, a scoundrel, because possibly the by-standers might imagine him only an English scoundrel, and of course merely on a level with honest men of other nations ; they therefore add the name of the country the man comes from, by way of consummating his infamy.

This however is not always considered as an injury. In the year 1745, a Scottish soldier of the rebel army, who was wounded at the affair of Clifton, and unable to march with the corps to which he belonged when they left Carlisle, was taken prisoner with the garrison, which consisted almost entirely of Englishmen.

A soldier

A soldier of the King's army, who was sentinel at the prison where this man was confined, told him one day, on his enquiring for the surgeon—"You need not trouble yourself about a surgeon; for I can assure you, that you are to be hanged very soon *for a Scotch rebel.*"

"Thanks to you kindly, Sir, for your information (replied the wounded man, in the accent of his country); for, as I was found in a garrison of the natives, I was just fearing they would, may be, have hanged me for an *English one.*"

An address from the National Assembly to the inhabitants of the French frontiers was read by M. Vergniaud, who is reckoned, in point of eloquence, to be equal, if not superior, to any of the present deputies.

"Citoyens,

"Votre position vous assure la gloire de combattre les premiers les ennemis de la

Q 4

liberté.

liberté. La nation compte sur votre courage ; comptez sur sa reconnoissance. Vos enfans seront ceux de la patrie, et partout vous trouverez des compagnons de gloire, ou des vengeurs *."

The three commissioners, Kerfaint, Antonelle, and Peraldy, sent from the National Assembly on the night of the 10th to the army commanded by M. la Fayette, appeared this day in the hall. As the duty they were sent on was of a very dangerous nature, and had been attended with more success than many people expected, they were received with long continued applauses.

Kerfaint, with manly and perspicuous eloquence, narrated the various incidents which had occurred during their expedition.

* Your situation secures to you the honour of being the first to engage the enemies of liberty. Your country relies upon your courage; do you rely on her gratitude. Your children will be adopted as hers; and you will find every where partakers of your glory, or avengers of your death.

M. la

M. la Fayette, by a singular accident, was informed of what had happened on the 10th, before the accounts were brought to any other person in his army.

He had sent M. Darblais, an officer of distinction in the army, with dispatches of great importance, and some confidential messages to the War Minister. M. Darblais arrived within a little of Paris on the morning of the 11th. Having changed horses, he was stepping into his chaise, when a grenadier of the national guards, who had just arrived from Paris, saw him, and advertised him of the danger of continuing his route.

Some municipal officers, who had heard what the grenadier said, made difficulties respecting his being allowed to return. These difficulties were removed with infinite address and presence of mind on the part of Darblais, who posted back with all imaginable speed to M. la Fayette, whom he found at Sedan, and informed him of all
he

he knew. M. la Fayette, having given what account of this business he thought most expedient, desired the magistrates of Sedan to arrest the three commissaries of the National Assembly as soon as they should arrive, and then he set out for the army. The commissaries were arrested accordingly ; and they were detained in prison from the 14th at night till the morning of the 20th. During this period, M. la Fayette finding that the army would not support him, but were determined to obey the orders of the National Assembly, thought it necessary to withdraw, accompanied by M. Darblais and some of his chief officers. The magistrates of Sedan, being now sensible of their error, released the commissaries, and implored their protection.

Kersaint interceded with the Assembly in their favour: "*Oubliez leurs fautes comme nous les oublions**," said he in his

* Forget their faults as we do.

speech

speech from the tribune; and then proceeded to give an account of his reception by the army. Nothing certainly could be more critical than the situation in which that army seems to have then been; near to the enemy; abandoned by their principal officers; and ignorant, till the arrival of the commissaries, what they ought to do.

When these commissaries left Paris, it was believed by some people, with whom I conversed, that they would be put to death as soon as they should arrive at the army; and I see some persons who still think *that* would have been the case, if they had got there as soon as they intended.

But what entirely refutes this supposition, is M. la Fayette's having directed the magistrates to stop them at Sedan. If he had had any design of destroying them, and believed that the army also were so disposed, he would not have prevented their coming on.

M. Ker.

M. Kerfaint in his speech states much matter of accusation against la Fayette; yet it seems evident that he was not in intelligence with the enemy; for, if he had, it would have been easy for him to have given them such information as would have brought them upon his army when they were deprived of their commanders, and in that surprise and confusion which such a state must necessarily produce. But the enemy made no attempt on the French army during this critical period; which of itself refutes part of the calumny with which M. la Fayette has been pursued, and renders what is asserted by his friends very probable—that although he was pressed by every motive of personal safety to hasten his departure, he did not leave his army till after he had made such a disposition as put it out of the enemy's power to attack it.

I cannot answer all the charges I daily hear brought against M. la Fayette; but they
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are of too general a nature, and urged with too much passion, to convince me that the friend of Washington, the man who shewed such a love for the cause of freedom, both in America and in France, should, all at once, become a traitor.

August 29.

If there was nothing else to ruin the public affairs of France, the continual accusations against all men in office, whether military or civil, would be sufficient for that purpose: men seem to be suspected of treachery on no stronger grounds, than because treachery is in their power. But it is impossible to put any man into an office of public trust, without putting treachery in his power: at this rate, therefore, every man enjoying an office of trust will be suspected: in such a state of things, how can government go on?

General Luckner, who is at the head of
the

the army, is often abused in the public prints, which appear here in vast profusion ; and insinuations of the most malignant nature, and probably without foundation, are daily spread against him. General Arthur Dillon is exposed to attacks of the same nature.

It might have been hoped, that the recent and deplorable fate of this gentleman's friend and relation, Theobald Dillon, *maréchal-de-camp*, would have produced a little caution and delicacy towards officers of that name.

It is above a century since that gallant family, originally from Ireland, were naturalized in France.

The unfortunate General Theobald Dillon was about the end of April last ordered upon an expedition from Lille to Tournay. The party under his command, at sight of the Austrians, cried out, Traitor ! and fled. A dragoon, whom the General attempted
to

to stop, fired his pistol and wounded him, while another wounded his aide-de-camp in the same manner, and threw him from his horse.

On his return to Lille, the soldiers assassinated their commander, and also Colonel Berthois, the chief engineer, to cover their own cowardice or treachery ; for it is believed by many, that some soldiers had been bribed by the enemy to spread the notion that the French army was betrayed by their officers, which occasioned the disorder and flight of the troops, and the murder of their leaders.

Justice was afterwards done to the good faith and good conduct of Dillon and Berthois, by a court martial, and the assassins punished. The National Assembly also made all the reparation in their power to their families. A pension was given to the wife and children of Colonel Berthois. General Dillon was not married ; but he
had

had lived in the strictest intimacy with Josephine de Feville, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. The youngest son was born at Lille, at the time his father was murdered, and the infant was carried to baptism across the square on which the mangled body of the father still lay. The wretched mother, terrified by a report that the assassins intended to destroy herself and her children, rose from her bed, and in that dismal condition walked on foot three quarters of a league, to the house of M. d'Aumont, a French officer and the friend of Dillon; where she and her children were hospitably entertained for a long time, during which she had languished under a disease, the consequence of her terror and fatigue. A narrative of these affecting circumstances was read in the Assembly; together with the last will of Theobald Dillon, written in his own hand at Lille, immediately before he set out on this unfortunate

expedition. In this testament he recommends his children and their mother to the friendship and affection of his sisters and relations, in the most pathetic terms.

This last proof of the tenderness of a brave soldier, to those most dear to him, had great effect on the National Assembly; they immediately decreed a pension of 1500 livres to Josephine de Feville during her life, and one of 800 livres to each of her three children.

This plan of spreading reports of treachery among the Generals having succeeded in this instance, encourages them to try it in others. A rumour began to circulate lately, that General Dumourier had passed over to the enemy : this however will go no great length : a man was sent to prison for repeating it in a coffee-house, with this addition, that the Prussians gave no quarter.

It is generally thought that there are many agents now in Paris, employed by

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the emigrant princes to circulate alarming reports of this nature, and to create universal distrust and suspicion. This, at least, is infinitely more probable than the ridiculous fiction, which however I find is credited by many, namely, that the guineas of the British treasury are scattered over the suburbs of St. Antoine, to keep up the spirit of discord and sedition.

Several persons, I am told, have received anonymous letters within these few days, from pretended friends, earnestly entreating them to fly from Paris with all possible expedition, as events of the most dreadful nature are about to happen.

Letters from unknown friends are generally dictated by real enemies; and those dispersed on the present occasion, are probably intended to augment the inquietude which begins to disturb the thoughts of that portion of the inhabitants of this metropolis who ever think at all.

It

It is hardly possible to conceive what absurd and inhuman suggestions arise from fear. A stronger instance cannot well be given than what took place this day in the National Assembly; where a member discovered danger and destruction advancing, not from the disciplined battalions of Prussia, or the vengeful squadrons of the Emperor, but from the languid hands of a woman shut up in a prison and oppressed with aggravated calamity.

“ Be assured (cried this man) that there still exists a conspiracy in Paris, every minute part of which it is your duty to trace. The vigilance of the guards on the Temple has been lulled. The prisoners there have found means of communication with the traitors at Coblenz. *N'est-ce pas assez* (continued this unrelenting man) *que cette femme barbare, que cette femme bourreau, s'occupe dans la re-*

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traite

traite des moyens de se baigner encore dans le sang des François ? N'est-ce pas assez qu'elle respire encore, sans que vous la laissez renouer ses trames contre-révolutionnaires ? Otez-lui tous les moyens de correspondre avec nos ennemis, et que Louis XVI. livré à sa lourde nullité, ne corresponde plus qu'avec sa honte et ses remords. Je demande, 1. que l'on cherche la presse dont se servent encore les conspirateurs : 2. que tous les membres qui composent la famille du Roi, soient enfermés séparément sans aucune communication entre eux et enfermés avec le dehors *."

This

* Is it not enough that this barbarous woman is employed in her confinement in schemes to enable her again to bathe herself in the blood of Frenchmen ? Is it not enough that she still breathes, without your permitting her to renew her plots against the revolution ? Deprive her of the means of corresponding with our enemies, and let the weighty nullity of Louis XVI. have

no

This vile speech was applauded by the tribunes.—They surely import negro-drivers from the West Indies to place in those tribunes.

The first article only, however, was adopted by the Assembly; the other was rejected.

All this terror of a conspiracy arose from a book lately published, entitled—*Les Bienfaits de l'Assemblée Nationale, ou Entretiens de Madame Saumon.*

This book, the orator said, turned the National Assembly into ridicule, and filled him with horror. I question much, how-

no correspondence of any kind, except with his shame and with his remorse.

I require in the first place, that search may be made for the prefs of which the conspirators make use; in the second place, that all the members of the King's family shall be separately confined, without any communication with each other, or with any person out of the prison.

R 3

ever,

ever, if it is half so ridiculous as his speech; I am sure it will not fill me with more horror.

August 30.

The National Assembly seem disposed to behave with republican sternness to those who disappoint the expectations of their country when before the enemy.

Some soldiers of the garrison of Longwy appeared at the bar, to give an account of the reduction of the place, and apologize for the conduct of the inhabitants and garrison. They accused their officers and the magistrates; they said they had narrowly escaped being massacred by the Prussians, who had promised them the honours of war. "You deserved the treatment you received," cried some of the members.

What could a garrison of eight hundred men do, when attacked by sixty thousand?

"You might have died," was the cry of the

the Assembly ; in imitation no doubt of the *qu'il mourût* of Corneille.

The soldiers finished their memorial, by protesting that they were determined on the first opportunity to avenge their country and prove their courage.

This declaration was heard with a murmur of incredulity, and their memorial was sent to the *Commission Extraordinaire*.

A letter was read yesterday in the National Assembly from Merlin, one of the magistrates of Thionville, and father to the deputy. He writes that the inhabitants expect soon to be besieged, but are determined to be blown up with the town, rather than surrender.

On which Jean Debry exclaimed with fervour—"The most instant and vigorous measures must be adopted in defence of our country ; the expence must not be thought of : within fifteen days we shall enjoy freedom, or meet with death. If we are con-

R 4

quered,

quered, we shall have no need of money, for we shall not exist—If we are victorious, still we shall not feel the want of money, for we shall be *free*."

In consequence of a mandate from the municipality of Paris, which seems to be the sole executive power, each section was ordered to choose commissaries for making a general search for arms and suspected persons.

This search was made accordingly in the course of last night and this morning. The commissaries were attended with a body of the national guards, and all avenues of the sections were watched to prevent any person from escaping. They did not come to our hotel till about six in the morning. I attended them through every room, and opened every door of our apartment. They behaved with great civility; we had no arms but pistols, which lay openly on the chimney.

They

They admired the nicety of the workmanship of one pair, but never offered to take them.

I understand that a considerable number of muskets have been seized, and many people arrested. The master of our hotel was on guard last night ; I saw him return this morning in his warlike attire. He talked a good deal of the fatigue he had undergone, and hinted a little of the dangers to which he had been exposed in the course of this severe duty.

Being asked if he had been successful in his search after suspected persons—

“ Oui, milord, infiniment ”—

He could not have looked more lofty if he had taken the Duke of Brunswick—

—“ Notre bataillon a attrapé quatre prêtres*.”

I do not hear that those poor men are accused of any other crime than that of not

* Our battalion has caught four priests.

having

having taken the oath to the new constitution: this seems a presumption that they are men of principle, guided by the dictates of conscience, whether well or ill informed, and ought to subject them to no punishment—yet they were carried to the prison of the Abbaye.

When men's minds are agitated with party and political dissensions, they are apt to lose all idea of justice and candour.

The clergy in general are extremely odious in France at present. They certainly have been hardly used; and it is an old observation, that men often hate those they have wronged. The clergy have unquestionably lost influence in every country of Europe of late years; but more in France than any where else. What an alteration since the war of the League, and even since the revocation of the edict of Nantz!

This body of men have been always exposed to the indiscriminating satire of wittlings

lings and profligates; but now, in this country, men of grave and *serious* characters turn also against them. A member of the National Assembly, and of the foregoing description, had occasion yesterday in the Assembly to say something in favour of an ecclesiastic: he added, "He is indeed the honestest priest I am acquainted with—for I never was acquainted with another."

The Assembly laughed. I did not join, because I have been far more fortunate in my acquaintance with that order of men, than the deputy. But what should shock sincere catholics still more, was what happened two days since in the Assembly.—Certain citizens brought to the bar a silver statue of St. Roche. "We have often addressed prayers to our St. Roche (said one of them) against the political plague which makes such ravages in France—he has given us no answer—we imagine his silence may possibly be owing to his form; and therefore

fore bring him to you, that he may be converted into specie ; hoping that, in this new shape, he will better contribute to drive the pestiferous race of our enemies out of France."

This harangue was heard with applause by the Assembly and Tribunes, and the saint was conducted to the mint.

A report of the most absurd nature prevails at present ; it is circulated by many, and believed by some, that there is a plan for placing his Royal Highness the Duke of York on the throne of France. It is thought that this measure would secure to France an alliance with Great Britain, and with Prussia ; and on that account it may, perhaps, be wished by more people in this country than can possibly believe it. It cannot be wished for by any who are interested in the continuation of the Duke's happiness.

In the present disposition of the French nation,

nation, the crown of France is assuredly not an object of desire.

August 31.

As much pains is taken to spirit up the people against priests, as against aristocrates. One reason, no doubt, is, because the clergy in general are aristocrates; another is the dislike which a number of people, independent of politics, bear to a set of men who, by profession, are obliged to censure and condemn the mode of life which those people choose to live.

Then it is so easy a thing to pick out sufficient matter for an abusive pamphlet, from the writings which at all times have appeared against the priesthood, and apply them to the clergy of the present times, although as different from each other, as the present race of Parisians are from the ancient Gauls, or the Parisians of the League.

One

One powerful engine that has been brought to bear against the clergy, as well as against the monarchy, is that old enemy of the former, the Stage. I lately saw *Les Victimes Cloîtrées* at the Théâtre de la Nation; a piece evidently written to inspire horror and indignation against the priesthood, and to place monks in particular in the most atrocious point of view. The part was played by Fleuri, an admirable actor, easy and elegant in comedy; full of energy, and pathetic in the highest degree, in tragedy; quite free from that pompous swell and strut so common in French tragic acting, and which certainly never prevailed in real life among the sons of men.

Mademoiselle Contade is at the head of French comic acting; and it is in comic acting that the French excel. Here you see the polished manners of high life represented without grimace or affectation; and all the nature

nature and simplicity of the inferior ranks without vulgarity.

The French actors and actresses possess beside, particularly in their comic operas, a bewitching gaiety and playfulness of manner, which is attempted without success on other stages.

The arresting of citizens, by orders from the conseil des représentans de la commune, continues, and gives alarm and uneasiness to many for themselves or relations: some have been taken up of late who were always considered as warm patriots. I am informed of this with caution; for it is not thought quite safe to complain of those, who, by some means or other, possess almost the whole power of the state.

Complaints of this tyranny, however, have been made in the National Assembly; and Vergniaud has declaimed against it with the most affecting eloquence. There can be no doubt of his having convinced them of
the

the greatness of the grievance, and given them all the desire possible to redress it; but there is reason to believe that the Assembly itself is under the influence of terror.

The walls of Paris are at this moment covered with addresses to the people against particular deputies—with insinuations that the majority are infected with aristocracy. These papers are not all anonymous; some of the most abusive are signed *Marat*, the name of a *pretended* patriot, and, from every account I have received, a *real* incendiary.

Symptoms of misunderstanding between the Assembly and the conseil de la commune have appeared pretty evidently of late. As the Assembly are the representatives of the whole French nation, and the council is composed of men deputed from the different sections of Paris, it is plain that the council ought to be subordinate to the Assembly; but by intrigue and management, during the disorders which have existed since

since the 10th of August, the council have acquired the ascendancy.

The active citizens of the suburbs of St. Antoine and St. Marceau are more at the command of the latter than of the former; and at present the inhabitants of those two suburbs are all that is felt in Paris of the Peuple Souverain. What the Convention may be able to effect, there is no knowing; but there is little probability that *this* National Assembly, which is on the point of dissolution, will ever acquire the ascendancy it ought; and that the Conventional Assembly should ever have an existence, seems daily more and more problematical.

Commissaries are appointed by the National Assembly to every section of the department of Paris and in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of promoting the new levies; which go on so successfully, that they will be completed within a very few days, although only two men should be chosen out of three

of those who offer themselves. To encourage those who work at the entrenchments now forming round Paris, some citizens in easy and opulent circumstances go there daily, and not only treat the hired labourers with occasional refreshments, but work with persevering assiduity themselves.

It appears singular, that, in the midst of this general alarm, the National Assembly was occupied, a considerable portion of yesterday, on an intended decree, the object of which is to facilitate the means of divorce.

September 1.

In the present agitation of men's minds, with that prejudice and resentment which it creates, there is reason to fear that the courts of justice, as well as the National Assembly, are obliged to pay too much attention to the opinions of the people without doors.

A criminal court was lately appointed for the purpose of trying the criminals of
the

the 10th of August. One d'Angremont was the first prisoner brought before this tribunal. He had formerly been secretary to the administration of the national guards, at the office of the Maison de Ville, where he was placed by the late ministers; and was now accused of being the chief of a great band of men, raised and employed for the purpose of making anti-revolutional motions in clubs; holding discourses of the same nature on the terrace of the Feuillans, the gardens of the Palais Royal, and other places of public resort, with an intention to excite sedition, and raise the people to insurrections against the National Assembly, and the public magistrates, particularly the mayor and other patriots.

This band was divided into detachments of ten men each, every detachment having a captain and lieutenant. The pay of the captains was ten livres; that of the lieutenants five; and that of each pri-

vate man two livres ten sols daily. They had particular signs and words, by which they knew each other, at the public walks, at the tribunes, and wherever the citizens assemble. They also carried a stick of a particular kind, which they called the *constitution*.

The number was said to amount in all to 1500 men. D'Angremont paid and directed the whole. The captains gave an account daily to him of whatever had passed : and he made a kind of return of this in three notes ; one to the King himself, and the two others to two persons in public office.

The advocate for the prisoner, besides various other defences, pleaded, that as his client had been arrested on the eighth or ninth of August, he could not be judged by a tribunal constituted for the trial of crimes committed on the 10th. But as that which the prisoner was accused of

referred

referred to what happened on the 10th, this plea was over-ruled.

After a trial of thirty hours, three propositions were given to the jury to deliberate upon. They remained three hours enclosed. On their return to court, the first article was stated to them by the judge:

“ Do you find it proved, that there was on the 10th of August a conspiracy within the Tuileries to excite a civil war in the country?”

The foreman of the jury answered in the negative. On this there was a general murmur among the audience.

The judge next demanded—“ Do you find that there was a design in the Tuileries of seizing unconstitutional power?”

To this question the jury answered in the affirmative.

“ Do you find it proved that the prisoner was engaged in this design?”

The jury found this proved also. After
S 3 they

they had given their verdict, the commissaire, according to the French phrase, applied the law.

D'Angremont was condemned to be beheaded. As he retired from the court, the people having perceived that he wore the uniform of the national guards, two of them went into the prison of the Conciergerie, where this poor man was conducted after receiving his sentence, and informed him that the people required that he should not appear on the scaffold in that dress. The prisoner immediately took his coat off.

Five hours after his condemnation, he was brought to the place of the Caroussel, and executed by torch-light. When he mounted the scaffold, the spectators testified their joy by acclamation and clapping their hands; which savage sign of satisfaction they redoubled when his head, being severed from his body, was held up to their view by the executioner.

This

This was no great proof of their patriotism, though perhaps some of them intended it as such ; but it was a most complete one of their brutality.

Le Peuple Souverain begins to grow as cruel as other despots.

M. Laporte, intendant de la liste civile, was brought next before the same tribunal. He was accused of having employed the money of the civil list in printing and publishing an immense number of pamphlets, libels, and placards, the tendency of which was to spirit up the people against the patriots, and bring about a counter-revolution ; employing and paying a number of agents for the same purpose ; remitting money to the emigrants at Coblenz, particularly to the King's body guards, who were in that city.

In general he denied these charges. The evidence adduced against him consisted chiefly of papers and letters found in the

King's cabinet on the 10th of August. A great many letters were found also among his own papers from persons who professed great loyalty, and willingness to risk their lives in defence of the King ; and requesting tickets to be admitted into the gardens of the Tuileries, and also into the palace itself, during the time that the former were kept shut from the public.

M. Laporte was asked how many of those tickets *he* had distributed. He answered, None ; that being the business of the governor of the Tuileries.

He was asked how many had been distributed. He answered, About 2000.

He was shewn an order signed by him, addressed to the Marechaux de logis, ordering them to prepare accommodations for some officers of the Swiss guards, on the 9th of August, in the Chateau. Another order signed by him to the commissary of the magazine, for 400 bed covers for Swiss guards

guards on the 9th. He acknowledged these signatures.

Being asked of how many the Swiss guard consisted that night, he answered, that he did not know the exact number; but that it was double the usual number.

Being asked if he had not paid the *gardes du corps* at Coblentz; if he had not transmitted money to the King's brothers and other emigrants:—To these, and all questions of a nature to criminate himself essentially, he answered in the negative.—It seems strange to a British subject, that the court allowed such questions to be persisted in. If they had proof, they might have brought it forth; but it is highly unbecoming a court of justice to endeavour to entrap a prisoner by drawing it from his own mouth. They not only did so, but, as it was then beginning to grow duskish, the national commissary required that lights might be placed near M. Laporte, that the jury might observe

serve the various impressions which the questions made on his countenance.

What a very fallible kind of evidence must this have afforded !

None but skilful physiognomists ought to have been on this jury.

He was asked if he did not keep up a correspondence with the prisoners at Orleans.

He answered, that of all the state prisoners there, he knew only MM. de Brissac and Deleffart ; the first he had been acquainted with at school ; the other he knew only after he was minister ; but that he had kept up a correspondence with neither.

There must have been a great deficiency of direct and substantial evidence, when they were reduced to dwell on such weak circumstances.

He was told by the court, that if he had been a good citizen, he would have informed the National Assembly of the great expence which Louis XVI. was at to maintain

maintain counter-revolution agents, and a counter-revolution spirit in Paris.

He answered, that by his office he was to pay those who brought orders from the King. What man of worth would have accepted of the office, if he had been told that it was expected he was to do the duty of a spy ? or to accuse the King before the National Assembly, as often as he spent his money improperly ?

The public accuser recapitulated the charges and evidence ; and the jury having withdrawn for two hours, declared that the prisoner was convicted of having expended immense sums of money, to foment a civil war, and by that means restore the ancient despotism.

He was condemned to lose his head.

M. Laporte heard the sentence pronounced without apparent emotion ; and with equal calmness listened to a kind of
exhorta-

exhortation addressed to him by the president.

He then, without taking notice of the president, or his exhortation, turned to the audience, and said : “ Citoyens, je proteste que je meurs innocent ; puisse l’effusion de mon sang ramener la tranquillité du royaume !—mais j’en doute*.”

M. Laporte retained the same manly behaviour to his last moment ; his appearance on the scaffold was modest and dignified, so as to move the compassion of many, and command the respect of all the spectators.

Durosoy, a man of letters, formerly editor of the Gazette de Paris, and of another public paper entitled Le Royalisme, was next brought to the bar. He was accused of a criminal correspondence with the ene-

* Citizens, I protest that I die innocent ; may the effusion of my blood restore tranquillity to the kingdom !—but I doubt it.

mies

mies of the revolution, both within and without the kingdom ; with being the author of anti-revolution writings ; with being involved in the guilt of the 10th of August ; and with having inserted in the Gazette de Paris, of the 9th of August, a plan of defence, in case the Château of the Tuileries should be attacked.

He denied having any connexion with the 10th of August ; that he was then at Auteuil ; and said that the article complained of was inserted in the Gazette without his knowledge. Notwithstanding a very eloquent defence, he was found guilty by the jury, and condemned like the rest.

He heard his sentence with equal firmness, saying, “ Un royaliste comme moi devoit mourir le jour de St. Louis*.”

He preserved his courage on the scaffold,

* It becomes a royalist, such as I am, to die on St. Lewis's day.

and

and was beheaded amidst the cries of *Vive la Nation !*

The court in the next instance tried M. D'Ossonville, juge de paix. He was accused of having protected D'Angremont and his accomplices as often as they were brought before him ; and of being an accomplice of his in his anti-revolution proceedings, and involved in the conspiracy of the 10th of August.

The chief foundation of the accusation against this man was, that his name was inscribed in a register, found in D'Angremont's possession, as the judge before whom he and all his partisans were to carry every appeal or dispute they should have ; and it was proved that there was a considerable connexion between them.

The jury was enclosed two hours, and then gave a special verdict, That D'Ossonville had co-operated in the plan of D'Angremont,

to excite a civil war, and restore a despotic government; but that it was not proved that he had assisted in this knowingly, and of design.

This prisoner had so little expectation of a favourable verdict, that while the jury was enclosed, he said to a person who poured out a glass of wine to him—"The wine you have poured out, my dear sir, is the last I shall ever taste."

I am glad I have to add, that the verdict of the jury was followed by the long and repeated applauses of the audience. This was really some relief to my mind; for I was afraid that nothing but condemnation was agreeable to the people; and that the opinion or prejudices of the public had too much influence on the decisions of the courts.

M. Montmorin, mayor of Fontainebleau, and formerly colonel of the regiment of Flanders, was brought before the tribunal.

He

He had already undergone an examination before the National Assembly, in consequence of which he was now brought to his trial. He was accused of having been engaged in schemes which brought on the action of the 10th.

He made a very able defence, and shewed great presence of mind during his trial. The jury was enclosed three hours, and then gave a verdict of the same nature with that given in the trial of M. D'Offonville—
 “ That it was proved that there had been plots and machinations, the tendency of which was to kindle a civil war; that it was also proved that M. Montmorin had assisted in some of these; but it was *not proved* that he had assisted *wickedly*, or with an *intention to do mischief*.”

This verdict was no sooner given, than loud murmurs of disapprobation were heard among the audience—“ You discharge him to-day (cried one of them), and within a fortnight

fortnight he will order our throats to be cut."—

This created such confusion, that fatal consequences were feared. The president expostulated with the people, and pointed out the fatal tendency of their interfering in a case of this kind; but he was not able entirely to calm them, till he said that perhaps there were among the jury some persons whose connection with the prisoner's family had influenced their judgment, in which case it would be proper to have the verdict revised by a new jury.

The president thought it necessary to conduct M. Montmorin out of the court to prison, to protect him from the violence of the people, who hissed and hooted him as he passed. In the outer court, one of the national guards aimed a stroke with his sword at the president, which was parried by a bystander; so that the judge received no wound.

Louis XIV. and Louis XV. never gave more alarming proofs of despotism than when they interposed their authority against the legal course of justice.

This was complained of even when their interposition was to protect a criminal whom the law condemned. If they had exercised their power in condemning whom the law acquitted, it would have been still more odious. On the present occasion, however, it is what the people are doing. If therefore it was a power superior to law which the French chiefly complained of in their ancient monarchy, they have not found it remedied by the abolition. Yet this is at least as great a grievance when exercised by Le Peuple Souverain, as by any other tyrant.

The vices of tyrants are said to run in a circle, and produce one another. Luxury and prodigality beget rapine ; rapine creates hatred in the subject, which raises fear in the

the prince. Fear produces cruelty, cruelty/
despair, and despair destruction.

In the Peuple Souverain, cruelty is not
derived from the same remote ancestors; but
springs directly from power, combined with
credulity in the most absurd accusations, and
a taste for the sight of executions.

All tyranny is intolerable. If the French
cannot find the means of bringing that of
the people within the limits of law, they
will gain nothing by their revolution.

One particular circumstance renders Le
Peuple Souverain a more formidable ty-
rant than any other: namely—that all
other tyrants are in some respect personally
answerable for their actions, which is some
restraint on them; whereas the Peuple Sou-
verain indulge their caprice or fury without
any restraint whatever.

Not satisfied with trying to intimidate the
court, on purpose to force a revision of the
verdict, and obtain one more to their mind,

an attempt was made in the next place to intimidate the National Assembly. The day after the trial of M. Montmorin of Fontainebleau, some persons who called themselves Deputies from the People came to the bar of the Assembly, to express their indignation at the judgment pronounced by the jury in his favour; and required, in the name du Peuple Souverain, a speedy answer on the subject.

To this very sturdy petition the president answered—That the Assembly would inquire into the object of their request; that undoubtedly the people of France was sovereign; but this sovereignty lay in the whole people, and not in any separate part, and never could be exercised but by the representatives of the whole nation,

This observation of the president is very just; but there is reason to dread that there will be some difficulty in making the people understand it, and still more in making them conform

conform to it. For Le Peuple Souverain is a monarch composed of heterogeneous substances, like the image of which Nebuchadnezzar dreamed; part is fine gold, part silver, part brass, part iron, and a large portion clay: each of these divisions occasionally assumes the right of representing the whole sovereign; and the clay portion is exceedingly apt to bedaub all the others, when they offer to dispute this right with it.

M. Montmorin, formerly the Minister for Foreign Affairs, was yesterday examined before the National Assembly. He was not accused of having any connection with what happened on the 10th of August; but the following articles of charge were exhibited against him:—That he sacrificed the interest of France to that of Austria, in opposing an alliance between France and Prussia—That he concealed the league of foreign powers against France, and did not use all the means in his power to prevent it

—That he pretended to be ignorant of the designs of the emigrant princes, and aided by his silence their schemes against France.

M. Montmorin, when interrogated on these three heads, answered, that he knew nothing of the treaty of Pilnitz ; that he was really ignorant of the designs of the French Princes, and therefore could not inform the National Assembly of either in time ; and in general, that he was innocent of the whole charge. The Assembly, however, adopted the decree of accusation, and M. Montmorin was ordered into custody.

M. Barnave, so much distinguished for his eloquence in the Constituent Assembly, was lately arrested at his country house near Grenoble, and carried to the prison of that city. What gave occasion for this is a paper found in the King's cabinet, and endorsed in the King's hand—*Projet du Comité des Ministres, concerté avec M. M. Barnave et Alex. Lameth.*

This

This paper consists of various articles, or hints of what it might be expedient to do.

1. To refuse the sanction.
2. To write another letter in a friendly style to the princes.
3. A new proclamation respecting the emigrants in a firm style, and marking a determination to maintain the constitution.
4. A requisition to the neighbouring powers to suffer no assemblies of armed men on their territories.

With other hints of what the ministers were to say to the National Assembly; particularly to insist on the good effect which the King's former requisitions had produced on the mind of the Emperor, &c.

Upon the whole, there seems nothing of a treasonable nature in this paper; and if there was, there is no proof that Barnave or Alexander Lameth had any knowledge of it. But at present the least circumstance

creates suspicion, and the least suspicion is sufficient for an order of arrest.

I feel much concern for these proceedings, because I believe the minds of those in power to be too much inflamed for candid investigation of the conduct of men who acted on principles opposite to their own; and because, although all that was charged against those unfortunate men had been proved, still they might have conceived that they were doing their duty, and acting in support of the constitution.

The court had been long attacked in journals, in papers and placards fixed on the walls, by men hired to harangue in public places against the King and his ministers, who insinuated, and often asserted, that the country was betrayed, that there was a plot to murder the patriots, and sell a great part of the kingdom to the Emperor; and ideas of a republican nature were likewise spread about on all convenient occasions.

It

It was not unnatural in the King or his ministers to think of defending themselves, and resisting this attack with the same kind of weapons that were used by their enemies. They did no doubt accordingly pension journalists, and employ agents, to attend the tribunes of the National Assembly, to mix in groups at the public places, to fix up placards on purpose to counteract the designs of their enemies, and turn the public opinion in their favour. For this purpose D'Angremont and his band may have been employed, Durosoy may have written, and they may have believed in their conscience that they were defending the King and supporting the constitution, against those who wished to destroy both. M. Laporte also might think he was doing no injury to the constitution, in advancing money which was at the King's disposal in defraying this expence, according to the orders he received from his Majesty: and there does not seem any thing highly criminal

criminal in transmitting money by the King's orders to a few of his old body guards, who were starving at Coblenz ; which, however, he denied having done.

Besides, the indignation we feel against those whose conduct we really condemn, is greatly diminished when we think they acted from principle ; and if our hearts are not hardened by the unrelenting spirit of party, our indignation is converted into compassion when they come to suffer.

From the conversations I have had with the most intelligent and best informed of my French acquaintance, from the very evasions and palliations of some, when the discourse turned on certain subjects, and the frankness of others, I think it highly probable that a project was formed by many of the King's friends, who were also the friends of the constitution, to remove the whole royal family to the distance of twenty leagues from Paris. The disturbances which were threatened

ened every time the King made use of the veto which the constitution had given him; the outrages committed by the mob in his palace on the 20th of June, for which nobody had been punished, convinced them that this measure was necessary for the King's safety, and for his having the free use of his prerogative. It was proposed that, every thing being previously arranged, he should inform the National Assembly of his intention to withdraw for some time to that distance from the capital which the constitution permits, and to set out directly after, attended by a body of cavalry, and followed by the Swiss and some battalions of the national guards. It is likely that a detachment from the army on the frontiers would have joined these, if necessary; and all with no other view than to give energy to the constitution, and prevent the powers of government from being arrested, as often as any measure was

was taken that displeased the Jacobins or the mob of Paris.

M. de la Fayette was in all probability engaged in this project ; but I am inclined to think that

The very head and front of his offending
Hath this extent, and no more.

His Majesty sometimes agreed to this plan; but when it came to the point of execution, he always drew back: for although Louis XVI. possesses a great share of passive courage, he shrinks from exertion; especially when the measure which he is stimulated to take has the least chance of being attended with bloodshed. By all I have heard of the character of this prince, whom they endeavour to represent as a wicked tyrant, he in truth

————— lacks iniquity
Sometimes to do him service.

And I have some reason to suspect that
the

the moderation with which he bore certain outrages provoked the republican party, because it deprived them of the pretexts which they wished to exhibit to the people, as reasons for the destruction of royalty ; but I also believe, that this in a great degree proceeds from a conviction in their minds, that the splendor of royalty, even with the limitations of their constitution, cannot long exist in France consistent with freedom. When they are reminded of the example of the British government, they answer that the characters of the two nations are different ; but they seem to forget that those very circumstances in the character of the French, which render a limited monarchy dangerous to freedom, may also render a republican form of government inconsistent with any tolerable share of tranquillity or public happiness.

The three persons executed as above-mentioned, I dare say thought they had

acted meritoriously ; and it depended on the event of the insurrection on the 10th of August, whether that was or was not to be the avowed opinion of the public. Had that event been the reverse of what it was, those men would have been praised and rewarded for the same conduct for which they were now condemned, and some of their judges would have been executed in their stead. They will be dealt with in the other world, no doubt, according to their *own personal conduct* through life ; but here the fate of those men, and whether they were to be considered as innocent or guilty, depended not on their own conduct, but on *that* of the Swiss, the national guards, the fœderés, and those who directed them.

If it were clearly proved that the King had entered into a plan for overturning the constitution, which he had accepted and sworn to support, that he kept up a correspondence with the enemies of his country,
and

and abetted their invasion for the purpose of re-establishing the old government, and at the risk of the dismemberment of France; if these things were proved, no man who has read the chapter of the *Constitution Française*, which concerns the King, can have the least doubt of his having incurred the penalty of forfeiture of the crown; and beyond that penalty justice cannot go with respect to him, were all these charges ever so clearly proved.

In that case, however, those who were acquainted with his designs, and assisted him in promoting them, would be justly condemned to death as traitors.

But if none of those charges are clearly proved; if nothing is discovered incompatible with the idea that the King was conscientiously resolved to adhere to the constitution, and had formed no plan to restore the old government; that the measures he took, and the arrangements he made within
the

the Tuileries, on, and for some time before the 10th of August, were merely defensive; and that the attack had been long meditated by those who wished to destroy the constitution, and establish a republican form of government; that the very men who now exclaim against the King for shedding the blood of the people wantonly, are those who provoked the war with the Emperor, and incited the attack of the Tuileries on purpose to ensnare the King, and afford them opportunities of accusing him of a correspondence with the court of Vienna, and of acting offensively against his own subjects; that they might have pretexts for injuring him in the minds of the people, and establishing that republican form of government which they so much desire: if those suppositions are founded on truth, the King, and those who suffer on this occasion, must engage our sympathy in the highest degree.

The

The greatest pains are taken at the club of Jacobins, in the public walks, at the meetings of the sections, in the coffee-houses, and wherever people meet and converse, to persuade the public that the King had no right to give orders to fire on the people assembled in the Caroufel; that he certainly left such orders with the Swiss and others, when he left the Chateau to go to the Assembly; and for him to repel the people by force, or order them to be so repelled, when they came to present a petition, or remonstrance, is the greatest of all crimes, leze nation.—This doctrine is as new as absurd; that it was not received on the 10th, even by the most violent members of the National Assembly is evident, for M. Rhœderer, the procureur syndic of the department, in the account which he gave at the bar of the Assembly, in the presence of the King, a little before the firing began, said, that he addressed the cannoniers, and the

[national guards within the castle, in these words : “ Messieurs, à Dieu ne plaise que nous demandions que vous versiez le sang de vos freres, que vous attaquiez vos concitoyens ! Vos canons, messieurs, sont là pour votre défense ; ils ne sont pas pour l’attaque : mais je requiers au nom de la loi, cette défense ; je la requiers au nom du droit de votre constitution ; je requiers au nom de la sûreté que la loi garantie à la maison devant laquelle vous êtes postés. La loi vous autorise, lorsque des violences seront exercées contre vous, à les repousser par une forte réaction. La loi vous autorise, lorsque vous serez à point d’être forcés dans votre poste, à le maintenir par la force ; et encore un fois vous ne ferez point assaillans, vous ne ferez que sur la défensive *.”

This

* Gentlemen, Heaven forbid that we should require you to shed the blood of your brethren; that you should attack your fellow-citizens ! Those cannon are there for your defence, and not for attacking others : but in the name of law I require *that* defence ; I require it in
the

This language, which is that of nature and common sense, was not blamed at the time it was held, and if Rhœderer had had the least idea that it would, he is not the man that would have held it; but it has been considered in a different light since, and M. Rhœderer has thought proper to abscond.

But had the King given direct orders to fire on those who threatened to force their way into his palace, he was not only justifiable on the principle of self-defence, but it was his duty to do so as soon as he was convinced they could be kept out by

the name of justice and of the constitution; I require it in the name of that safety which the law guarantees to the house before which you are posted. The law authorises you, as often as violence is used against you, to repel it with all your force. The law authorises you, when you are in danger of being driven from your post, to maintain it by force; and still you will not be aggressors, you will be only acting on the defensive.

no other means, for he had sworn to defend the constitution; he himself was an essential part of the constitution, and therefore, independent of every consideration of self-defence as an individual, he was bound as King to act against the insurgents on the 10th of August.

September 2.

An incident of a singular nature took place yesterday.

Jean Julian, a poor waggoner of Vaugirard, was condemned to ten years hard labour, for I know not what crime. This man was placed on a scaffold in the Place de Gréve, with his hands tied behind, there to remain an hour, as a beginning of his punishment. Whether he was previously mad, or made desperate by so severe a sentence, I am not informed; but while he was in this situation, the populace crying *Vive la Nation!* the man exclaimed, *Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!* adding some indecent

indecent expressions regarding *la Nation*, prompted, in all probability, by rage and despair.

One could hardly imagine that a poor helpless wretch, in this deplorable state, could have provoked the resentment of any individual ; and if it did, the punishment to which he was condemned might have been thought sufficient. It did not however satisfy le Peuple Souverain : the man was on the point of being torn to pieces ; but *Manuel* prevented this, and promised that the offended majesty of the people should be avenged.

The offender was carried from the scaffold to prison, and soon after accused, before the tribunal which had tried the others, of this new crime. The sentence no doubt is in due form of law ; it declares however what nobody of common sense can believe :

“ Qu’il à existè une émeute populaire, ou sédition, le première Septembre présent

U 3

mois,

mois, tendante à exciter une guerre civile, par des cris de Vive le Roi, Vive la Reine, Vive M. de la Fayette ! laquelle émeute ou sédition est une conséquence naturelle de la conspiration qui a éclaté le 10 Aout dernier : que Jean Julien est convaincu des faits ci-dessus, &c*.”

He was then carried from the prison to the Caroussel, and there beheaded.

It is not possible that the court could have believed that this waggoner intended to excite any sedition ; what he said, was a mere rash retort on the mob, who insulted him in his misery. If *their* cry had been Vive le Roi et la Reine ! *his* would have

* That a popular commotion or sedition existed on the first of September, tending to raise a civil war, by the cries of Long live the King, the Queen, M. l Fayette ! which commotion or sedition is a natural consequence of the conspiracy which appeared on the 10th of August. That John Julien is guilty of the above, &c.

been

been *Vive la Nation* ! It is plain therefore that he was condemned to die to please the people. It is hard to say who excite greater horror, those who order a man's head to be cut off, to please the people ; or the people who are pleased by such a spectacle.

Those who attend public executions, in consequence of a taste for such horrid sights, were a few days ago gratified with an after-piece, which was not announced.

On the 27th of August, three men were beheaded for forging assignats. After the execution, it is customary to hold up the head, that it may be seen by the spectators. In performing this ceremony, the son of the executioner approached too near the edge of the scaffold, fell over, and was killed on the spot before his father's eyes.

I was this morning passing the church of Saint Louis du Louvre, and being told that it was now frequented by a Protestant congregation, I immediately joined them.

To behold an assembly of Protestants worshipping God according to the forms of their own religion, in a Roman catholic church, built on the spot where the massacre of St. Barthelemy began, and near that whence Charles IX. fired, with his own hands, on his Protestant subjects, was not the least extraordinary thing I have had occasion to observe since I have been in France.

The original name of this church was St. Thomas du Louvre, and a painting of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, is still one of its ornaments. The roof falling into decay, was renewed in the year 1740, when the church obtained the new name of St. Louis, I know not for what reason, unless it was that the former was thought ominous; for beside the murder of the saint, whose name it originally bore, three of the prebendaries
were

were crushed to death by the fall of the old roof in the year 1739.

The principal ornament of this church is the mausoleum of Cardinal Fleury, who is represented expiring in the arms of Religion. Louis XV. ordered this magnificent tomb to be erected in honour of his old preceptor and prime minister; but the monarch's affection abated as the expence increased, and became so cool before the work was finished, that it is thought the tomb would never have been completed, had not the Duc de Fleury, and other relations of the family, joined in defraying the expence, and animating the artists. Thus what was begun by gratitude, was finished by vanity. I should be sorry to say that in general the latter is the most powerful motive for expences of this nature; but let those who wish to know, enquire of *sculptors* and of *painters*, to which they are most obliged.

When

When I entered this church, I found it crowded with an audience of a very respectable and devout deportment.

The demeanor of the clergyman was of a piece with that of the audience. I enquired his name, and am sorry I have forgot it. His sermon was excellent, and gracefully delivered; he used more action than is common with English divines; but seemed free from affectation. He dwelt on the benevolent spirit of Christianity, and inculcated its precepts with a fervour that, I thought, proceeded from the heart. A patriotic form of prayer has been used in all the churches since the revolution; it refers to that event, and is affecting and well composed: this was the only thing the minister read. The King and Royal Family were included in it before the 10th of August: the only thing which displeased me during the service was, that, by order of the existing powers, they are now left out.

The

The very circumstance of their being omitted, however, would bring them into the minds of the audience ; and those who felt the true import of the sermon they had just heard, I am convinced, did not omit mental petitions in favour of that most unfortunate family.

On a part of the wall of this church, where a faint formerly stood, is the following inscription :

Le devoir d'un citoyen :

Adorez — Dieu.

Respectez — la Nation.

Obeir — à la Loi.

Paix avec surveillance.

Liberté sans licence.

Egalité sans indécence.

C'est la véritable science.

The poetry of these lines is certainly not very admirable : it were much to be wished however, for the happiness of France, that she could obtain what is expressed in the
second ;

second ; as for *science*, she had no natural business among them, and must have been dragged in by her unruly relation *indécence*.

When I went into the street, people were hurrying up and down with rapid steps and anxious faces ; groups were formed at every corner : one told in general that a courier had arrived with very bad news ; another asserted that Verdun had been betrayed like Longwy, and that the enemy were advancing ; others shook their heads and said, it was the traitors within Paris, and not the declared enemies on the frontiers that were to be feared.

In the National Assembly M. Vergniaud, with his usual eloquence, endeavoured to check that alarm which had affected the citizens ; his discourse was evidently addressed to the audience in the galleries. He said, “ the plan of the enemy was to leave the fortified towns behind them, and march with all possible speed to Paris ; that this
would

would be their ruin; the French army would follow; a body of 60,000 men from the capital would meet them; and that they must be surrounded, starved, and cut to pieces: but that to prevent any possibility of misfortune to Paris itself, the intrenchments around it must be completed; the zeal of the citizens must be stimulated: and he proposed that twelve members of the National Assembly should be sent daily to encourage the labourers, not by vain discourses, but by their example; that those members should themselves take up the shovel and pick-axe, and work in the intrenchments. This was immediately decreed, and at the same time, that an army of 60,000 men should be formed as soon as possible, and march to Chalons, while the inhabitants, who remained in the capital, should labour in the intrenchments.

The alarm is increased by the circumstantial account which is published, and

carefully circulated, of the plan agreed upon by the Emperor and King of Prussia, respecting the conduct of their troops during their march through France, and on their arrival at Paris.

According to those accounts, a great number of persons of influence have given assurance of their being ready to join the invading army; but they are desired to remain in their particular provinces, where they will be of most service to the cause, and only join the army when they can do it with safety, and bring the friends they are now seducing with them; that detachments will be sent from the advancing army to facilitate those junctions; but that when the combined German troops should approach near to Paris, the French, under the Prince de Condé, were to be left behind to protect the convoys, and keep the provinces in obedience: while the Germans blockaded
Paris,

Paris, which would soon be obliged, by famine, to surrender.

Immediately after which, the whole of the inhabitants were to be conducted to the plains of St. Denis, where the men were to be decimated and executed, with impartiality, on the spot; the most distinguished patriots having been previously selected, who were to be broken on the wheel: but that the women and children were to be spared, except forty or fifty poissards, who would undergo the same death with the patriots, as a warning to the fair sex not to take any part in future revolutions.

These pretended accounts from Germany are evidently, I know not for what purpose, fabricated in Paris—they fill many people however with disquietude, and increase the general alarm.

One o'clock, mid-day.

While I was writing, the cannon were fired, and the tocsin sounded. People rushed in to
7 inform

inform us, "That the Prussian army had taken Chalons, and was in full march to Paris; that their hussars and light cavalry swept every thing before them, and were already within ten leagues of the gates of Paris." When we stated the improbability of this, the answer was, "That if there had been the least doubt, the municipality would not have ordered the cannon of alarm to be fired, nor the tocsin to be sounded."

"What is become of Luckner's army? they would not allow hussars to pass them. The news cannot be true!"

"Why then would the cannon be fired, and the tocsin sounded?"

This mode of arguing I heard on all sides; and as nobody could give a good reason for the cannon being fired, and the tocsin sounded, it was concluded that the Prussians were within ten leagues, and every fresh report of a cannon, or toll of the tocsin, served to confirm them in that belief.

Five

Five in the afternoon.

The most shocking crimes are at this moment perpetrating at the prison of the Abbaye, hard by the hotel in which I now write!—a thing unequalled in the records of wickedness!

The mob—they call them the people here; but they deserve no name by which any thing which has the least relation to human nature can be signified—a set of monsters have broken into the Abbaye, and are massacring the prisoners!

Nine at night.

They have been at this shocking work during several hours—the Abbaye is quite full of prisoners; besides those that were there before, great numbers have been sent since the 10th of August; many on slight suspicions; many poor priests on no particular accusation, but merely because they are priests; many citizens, as I have been

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assured,

assured, have been arrested of late, and sent there, from the private hatred and revenge of some of the individuals, who at present belong to the commune de Paris. But suppose there was the greatest reason to believe them all guilty, which it is impossible that any body can, that would form no apology for this violation of justice, humanity, and public faith ! A prison ought to be the most sacred of all asylums : there is more reason to consider the violation of it as impiety, and the height of wickedness, than that of the church or altar ; because in prison all who are accused of crimes, are detained till their guilt or innocence can be tried ; they are, during this interval, under the safeguard of government, and the faith of the state. On the present occasion there is more reason than usual to suppose many innocent persons are among the prisoners, because they have been arrested in hurry and confusion, on slight surmises, and often, it is probable,

from private hatred. Yet, shocking to think of! they are making an undistinguished massacre of all.

Is this the work of a furious and deluded mob?

How come the citizens of this populous metropolis to remain passive spectators of so dreadful an outrage?

Is it possible that this is the accomplishment of a plan concerted two or three weeks ago? that those arbitrary arrests were ordered with this view; that false rumours of treasons and intended insurrections and massacres were spread to exasperate the people; and that, taking advantage of the rumours of bad news from the frontiers, orders have been issued for firing the cannon and sounding the tocsin, to increase the alarm, and terrify the public into acquiescence; while a band of chosen ruffians were hired to massacre those whom hatred, revenge, or fear

had destined to destruction, but whom law and justice could not destroy ?

It is now past twelve at mid-night, and the bloody work still goes on ! Almighty God !

September 3.

The same horrid scenes which began yesterday afternoon, are still continuing at the Abbaye ; are extended to the Hotel de la Force, la Conciergerie, le Chatelet, to all the prisons in Paris, and even the Bicetre, which is a league out of town.

One continued carnage goes on at them all. The people are told the following tale :

“ That there was a horrid plot, a combination between the Duke of Brunswick and certain traitors in Paris, that as soon as all the new levies were completed, and all the men intended for the frontiers had marched out of Paris, then those same traitors,

traitors, who have been long concealed under the mask of patriotism, were to take the command of a large body of men, now dispersed over the capital and its environs, who have been long in the pay of the court, although they also are concealed ; that those *concealed* leaders, at the head of their *concealed* troops, were to have thrown open the prisons, and to arm the prisoners ; then to go to the Temple, set the Royal Family free, and proclaim the King ; to condemn to death all the patriots who remain in Paris, and most of the wives and children of those who have marched out of it against the enemies of their country."

This is the ridiculous tale which is circulated among the people, to justify the murders perpetrated in the prisons, to stimulate the populace to assist in them, or terrify them from opposition.

The strong impression made by the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto, with the other

causes of alarm, make the tale credited, and the massacre tolerated.

I was this very day told, that " it is natural for men to secure their wives and children when they are going to be separated from them, and to use the most effectual means of preventing their being exposed to the daggers of assassins."

An acquaintance informed me, that as he passed by the Abbaye, he had seen some prisoners killed, by being first knocked on the head, and then thrust through with pikes ; and afterwards, that he saw several bodies dragged out and laid on a waggon. We were near the Abbaye when he gave me this account ; and he added, that if I had any inclination, I might go with safety. I entered with him into the street, and saw about two hundred people standing as spectators before the gate of the Abbaye ; but as I drew nearer, I became so much affected with the idea of what was transacting, that I turned

turned out of the street, with many others who seemed equally filled with horror.

But why then is it not resisted? Where is the Minister of Justice? Why is not the commander of the national guards ordered to march with an armed force to the prisons? Why are those murderers allowed to continue with as little interruption from the spectators, as the legal executioner who performs his office on a criminal condemned in the most regular manner?

A prodigious slaughter has also been made of the prisoners confined in the Hotel de la Force: one who gave me a shocking detail of this in the street, added, that the people, however, had mixed justice with their vengeance, for all the prisoners for debt and slight crimes, had either been previously separated from the rest, or spared by the people; and none but well-known criminals and traitors had suffered. The valet de place, who was with me, and lis-

tened to our conversation, here put in his word—" Je vous l'ai bien dit, Monsieur, le peuple est juste *. At that instant I saw a crowd at a distance ; I was told that they were carrying the head of the Princess Lamballe on a pike, and were dragging her body through the streets !

I turned from this very shocking sight, and went directly to call on M. Français, one of the deputies of the National Assembly, with whom I am acquainted. I found him greatly concerned on account of the inhuman and disgraceful scenes that were acting. I told him we had already obtained passports from the section des quatre nations ; but I understood that still we were in danger of being stopt at the barrier. I informed him also, that I had written to M. le Brun, the minister, on the subject, but wished M. Français to speak to him for an

* I told you, Sir, that the people are always just.

order,

order, which might preclude any obstacle we might otherwise meet with at the barrier or the towns through which we were to pass. M. Français promised to speak to the minister accordingly.

In the evening I conversed with several who were at the Hotel de la Force when Madame de Lamballe was murdered. This unfortunate lady was in bed when she was summoned to appear before a kind of tribunal within the court of the prison, which they say was constituted by the people to try the prisoners.

The person who carried her the message, however, told her that it was intended to remove her to the Abbaye. She said, since she must be kept in prison, she was as well pleased with that she was in, as another ; and being a little indisposed, wished to remain in bed.

She was then told that she must get up directly, to appear before the tribunal. She
begged

begged of those who brought this second
 message, who were two men in the uniform
 of the national guards, to retire till she was
 dressed, and she would attend them. They
 did so—and within a few minutes she was
 by them conducted before those pretended
 judges; it is said they wished to draw from
 her some matter of accusation against the
 Queen. In this they were disappointed; but
 as there was no positive charge against her-
 self, she was ordered to be removed, as is
 asserted by some, without any intention, on
 the part of these judges, that she should be
 murdered: what is certain, is, that if they
 did not actually give the signal of death,
 they took no measure to save her; for, as she
 was conducted out of the prison, stagger-
 ing with horror at the sight of the victims
 which had been sacrificed, she was struck
 on the head by the bludgeon of one assassin,
 and her head separated from her body by the
 sabre of another. The body then was drag-
 ged,

ged, by some of the wretches who flocked around, into an adjoining court, where after a series of indignities, of a nature not to be related, it was traile'd by the mob through the streets. The head, being fixed on a pike, was carried to the Temple, for the express purpose of shocking the Royal Family, and the Queen in particular, with a sight so dreadfully agonizing—A new dictionary is needed to furnish words expressive of such unheard-of wickedness!

But this last was a refinement which cannot belong to the impetuous barbarity of a mob; it must have been suggested by those who have studied cruelty as a science, and are acquainted with the most acute sources of anguish.

Those who had the guard of the Royal Family, were at first afraid of violence being intended against them. The commissaries from the municipality met the multitude, harangued and tried every means to prevent
their

their entering the court of the Temple—pointing to the national ribbon of three colours, which was drawn across the gate; they said it was hoped that patriots, such as they, would respect that patriotic barrier.

They read to them the following inscription, which it bore :

Citoyens, vous qui à une juste vengeance savez allier l'amour de l'ordre, respectez cette barrière. Elle est nécessaire à notre surveillance et à notre responsabilité*.

The directions under which those wretches acted, did not extend to the murder of the Royal Family, otherwise it is not probable they would have been restrained either by the patriotic ribbon, or their love of order.

One of them said, that no violence was intended against the prisoners in the Temple,

* Citizens, you who to a just vengeance join a love of order, respect this barrier. It is necessary for our justification.

but

but insisted that a few should be admitted into the court, to make a procession with the head before their windows, that those who had conspired to betray the country, might behold the fatal termination of their plots.

The officers yielded to this inhuman proposal—two of them even went and advertised the Royal Family. The head was carried around the court, and immediately before the Queen's window.

I understand she instantly fainted, and that the Princess Elizabeth is also extremely ill.

The friendship which subsisted between her Majesty and the Princess de Lamballe was well known: this very friendship had prompted that unfortunate Lady, after she herself was in safety, to return to France, and to the Queen, whose disagreeable situation required the consolation of a friend's company. This generous friendship seems

to have been the sole cause of Madame de Lamballe's murder ; for Madame de Tourzelle, her daughter, and other ladies who were in the Hotel de la Force, were spared. The degree of rancour which those wretches display against the Queen, is as violent as it is unaccountable. After murdering her friend, merely because she was her friend, they are not satisfied with letting her know that the afflicting event had taken place, but must also wring her heart with the most cruel of all spectacles !

From the Temple, Madame de Lamballe's head was carried to the Palais Royal, so as to be recognized by those within. I have since conversed with some persons who were there at the time.

Although the Princess Lamballe was a near connexion of the proprietor of this palace, I do not understand that the shock which the sight occasioned endangers his health.

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The news of those massacres having been carried to the Bicetre, where there are a great number of wretched people confined, they prepared to make resistance; and I understand that several pieces of cannon are to be carried there to make sure of slaughtering them with safety to the assassins. The accounts are so various and contradictory, that nothing with regard to the number killed, and many other particulars, can be depended upon. I shall endeavour to be informed hereafter in many circumstances, of which I have but vague and uncertain notions at present.

Scenes have been acted since the beginning of the French revolution, particularly on the 10th of August, and those still more horrid now performing, which are of a nature to make the warmest lover of liberty reflect very long, and weigh every circumstance, before he engages in a scheme of over-setting or altering the established government
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of any country where law and order have a considerable, though an imperfect, influence.

This reflection does not apply to those happy political constitutions which include within them the safe, regular, and legal means of redressing such abuses and inconveniences as an alteration of circumstances must produce in the very best system of government. The great advantage of a constitution, thus admirably contrived, is, that it possesses such salutary means of redress. Those remedies, however, are not to be applied wantonly, or when there is no occasion for any remedy—but if we are told they are never to be applied at all, then I confess I can see nothing very admirable in having such resources as part of the constitution—the machine of government would have been more simple by leaving them out.

When the means proposed is *insurrection*, the case is different and independent of personal considerations; every benevolent man will

will deliberate with much attention before he adopts measures which involves the happiness and misery of thousands of his countrymen.

In such an abominable system of oppression as the French laboured under before the revolution, where one large cast of men were exempted from taxation, and, without being themselves free, practised various methods of oppressing their more enslaved fellow-subjects—where another class possessed a prodigious proportion of the whole lands of the country, so unfairly divided that, in general, those who seldom performed any function of their profession, were rewarded with an exorbitant share, while those who diligently executed all its duties were in a state of abject poverty—where the will of one man could control the course of law, and his mandate tear any citizen from the arms of his family, and throw him into a dungeon for years, or for life.

In a country where such a system of government prevails, insurrection, being the sole means of redress, is not only justifiable, but it is the duty of every lover of mankind and of his country, as soon as any occasion presents itself which promises success.

The necessity of a total change of government in France will be acknowledged; and the revolution that was begun in the year 1789, will be approved of by many who will condemn the transactions of the 20th of June, and the 10th of August last, as unjust and inexpedient.

To pour a mob into the King's palace, on purpose to terrify him from exercising a negative which the constitution had given him, and left entirely to his own discretion, was assuredly most unjustifiable; and to slaughter his guards, suspend his authority, and imprison him and his whole family, because the guards opposed a second irruption of the mob into the palace, I fancy will hardly

be

he approved by any impartial man, or justified by all the treachery which the papers found in his cabinet on the 10th of August will disclose.

Louis XVI. was never considered as an unprincipled man, or a man of inordinate ambition. I cannot help thinking that he was satisfied with the constitution, and, as he is a man of piety, would never have thought of breaking his oaths by undermining it.

But those men, whoever they are, who instigated the massacres, have fixed indelible stains on their country, and in all probability have involved it in lasting disorder and misery.

The means they have employed to strike terror, to attain power, and by which they expect to keep it, is the populace; but this is an engine which often turns against those who undertake to direct it, and which neither they nor any others can always con-

troul. As well may they say to the ocean in a storm, Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.—And should these bloody instigators go no farther, gracious Heaven! what dreadful lengths have they not already gone? what advantage in point of government can France expect, what revolution is not dearly bought at the expence of the national stain, of the unprecedented horrors of last night, and this infamous third of September?

Chantilly, Sept. 4.

We were informed this morning, that the barriers were still shut, and nobody allowed to leave Paris: however, having received a letter from M. Le Brun, besides the passports from our section, we resolved to attempt it. Two persons belonging to our section, one of them in the national uniform, accompanied us. We were allowed to pass without difficulty, though our
passports

passports were examined at different places before we arrived here.

Our intention was to have proceeded this day to Clermont; but being informed that a large body of Bretons, who are marching to join the armies on the frontiers, are to pass this night at Clermont, we think it expedient to remain where we are.

A party of national guards, detached by orders of the commune de Paris, have been here; they only left Chantilly this morning: they carried with them, in waggons, a vast quantity of stuff proper for soldiers tents which was at this place. A party which was here some time ago, but since the 10th of August, carried away all the horses of every kind which remained in the stables, also a statue of Louis XIV. which was within the castle. They also overset and broke in pieces the fine figures which ornamented the front of the magnificent stables:

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they treated in the same manner the equestrian statue of Henry Montmorency, Constable of France in the time of Henry IV. The materials of those, being metal, were carried by the same party in waggons to Paris. They had the brutality, before they set out, to knock off the head of the beautiful pedestrian statue of the Great Condé, which stood in the grand stair-case of the castle. It is probable that those patriots were not enough versed in the history of their country to know that he had at one period of his life carried arms against his King, otherwise their hatred of the original, as a Bourbon, being qualified by their veneration for him as a rebel, might have saved the head of the statue.—Had their historical knowledge extended a little farther back, they might have had more sympathy for the old constable also; for it is certain that he was so very illiterate that he could not read—Brantome says, that he always signed
with

with a mark; and Henry IV. used to say,
 “ Avec mon Connétable qui ne fait pas
 lire, et mon Chancelier qui ne fait pas le
 latin, il n'est rien que je n'entreprene avec
 succès. *”

It is impossible to pass the mutilated
 statue of Condé without a sentiment of in-
 dignation against men who could manifest
 their rage in this despicable manner against
 one of the most distinguished characters
 their country ever produced.

The superior genius of Condé appeared
 in irregular flashes in his early youth, shone
 in full lustre in the fields of war during his
 maturer years, and threw a long beam of
 milder light on his old age. When retired
 from the bustle of the world, he cultivated
 the conversation of men of letters, and, by

* With my Constable who cannot read, and my Chan-
 cellor who does not understand Latin, there is nothing
 which I do not undertake with success.

his own taste, assisted by that of the first artists, he rendered Chantilly at once the most magnificent and most delightful place in France.

The following verses were inscribed beneath the statue of Condé:

*Quem modò pallebant, fugitivis fluctibus amnes,
Terribilem bello, nunc docta otia princeps
Pacis amans, lætos dat hortis ludere fontes.*

I said to the man who shewed us the apartments of the castle, that I had never seen Chantilly dans un si triste état*. Aussi, Monsieur, answered he with a sigh, n'a-t-il jamais été si triste†.

Although an Englishman has lately established an inn near this, we have stopped and shall sleep at the French one, close by the castle: the people here being mostly old servants of the Prince, melancholy is evidently marked on all their faces—on hinting at the sad scenes which have taken

* In so sad a state.

† Neither was it ever so sad.

place

place at Paris, they throw up their eyes, shake their heads, and hold their tongues.

Whether those dreadful scenes are to be imputed to the blind fury of a multitude driven to madness by an accumulation of alarming circumstances, or to a few mercenary actors hired to serve the vengeful or ambitious views of some invisible agents, I cannot yet determine: it is certainly difficult to imagine how six or seven hundred thousand people should permit two or three hundred assassins to commit such acts of atrocity before their eyes, unless they approved of what they saw—Why did not the National Assembly, instead of sending deputations of six or eight of their number, go in a body to protect the prisoners?—they never can do a more important duty, nor one in which the honour of their country is more concerned. Those who respected the national ribbon, would assuredly have respected the National Assembly; or if the assassins
had

had been otherwise disposed, since they were but two or three hundred, the Assembly would have overpowered them.

This proves that the Assembly thought that it was not a handful of russians, but a large body of the people who were engaged in this horrid work:—but even in that case, it may be asked, why did they not send for *Santerre*, the commander of the national guards, and order him to march with all the men under his command to the protection of the prisons?

I was told this morning before we left Paris, that M. Roland, the minister, sent repeated messages to *Santerre* without effect; how he will account for this I know not. As for a great number of the members of the Assembly, they were certainly under the influence of terror; *Brissot*, one of their own body, had been accused, and his papers examined; many might be conscious that, in the same circumstances, they would
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not have been able to clear themselves so completely as he did, for Brissot has long been thought a republican, and I fancy on good grounds—his writings breathed that spirit long before the 10th of August.—Brissot's accuser was no less a man than Roberspierre; and the crime of which he was accused was that of being bought by the Duke of Brunswick. The accusation was supported by mere assertion and declamation, which I am told are the usual proofs in which Roberspierre deals; but he expected that Brissot would have been assassinated—in which case proofs were superfluous. Since a republican like Brissot was exposed to such danger, it was natural for others, particularly all who voted on the 7th of August in favour of La Fayette, to be under apprehensions, which probably prevented their exerting themselves with all the vigour they wished in defence of the prisoners.

prisoners. With regard to the citizens of Paris, I certainly observed nothing like a disposition in them to destroy the prisoners; on the contrary, wherever I went, I found people lamenting their fate—but at the same time alarmed with the accounts from the frontiers, with the firing of the cannon and sounding the tocsin, and, above all, terrified at stories of conspiracies, and at the sight of the band of assassins, who, followed by some of the lowest rabble, went from prison to prison.

There is the strongest reason to believe, that the National Assembly have not deliberated in perfect security and freedom since the 10th of August, and that the unanimity which has appeared on some important occasions since is produced by fear more than conviction.

I myself am a witness, that the same men who were diametrically opposite in sentiments on the 7th, 8th, and 9th of August, seemed

seemed of the same way of thinking for some time after the 10th.

Although the Court certainly had a majority of the Assembly with them on my first arrival, yet even then the majority was exposed to the rudest insults from the people for declaring their sentiments. On the 8th, when M. Vaublanc, after a very excellent speech, proposed the previous question to the decree of accusation against M. La Fayette, he was hooted and exclaimed against by the audience in the gallery, and, as has been mentioned, narrowly escaped assassination when he returned from the Assembly home.

However determined and fearless some individuals among them were, the generality cannot be supposed to have delivered or spoken their sentiments with freedom afterwards, especially as their own colleagues, who formed the minority, seemed

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very well pleased when they were thus insulted.

It is however worthy of being remarked, that notwithstanding the ill humour and seditious expressions of a few members, yet, on the morning of the 10th, when the King and Royal Family came to the Assembly, they were received in a respectful manner; at that time it was not known how the contest expected at the Tuileries was to terminate; and if, by any extraordinary accident, it had ended in favour of those who defended the palace, then the respect for the King would have been continued, and probably increased. What is most certain is, that as soon as it was known that the Swiss fled, *then* all appearance of respect for the Royal Family ceased, and the whole Assembly *seemed* to rejoice at the victory. — The oath of *égalité* was no sooner proposed, than all the members started up as if they had been moved by one spring,

spring, and took it.—No German regiment, however severely exercised by the cane, however expert in military jerk, could have made a more instantaneous and uniform movement.

The suspension of the King's authority was decreed with more deliberation, but equal unanimity; yet not till after it was known that the Swiss and all the defenders of the castle were massacred or fled. The populace, of themselves, or, what is more probable, by the direction of those who, without appearing, have directed the principal movements of the revolt, began, on the 11th of August, to overset and break in pieces the statues of the Kings which adorned the public places of Paris; and *then*, but not before, the National Assembly decreed that those statues and every symbol of royalty should be destroyed.

Every transaction and decree of the National Assembly, I strongly suspect, has been in some measure influenced by that
general

general council which was elected by the sections on the night of the 9th of August while the tocsin was sounding, a deputation from which, immediately after the action of the 10th, appeared at the bar; declared that they considered themselves as accountable to the Primary Assemblies of the French nation only; bullied the National Assembly into whatever they proposed, and have by their agents kept it under terror ever since. This council, of their own authority, ordered the barriers to be shut, issued mandates for arresting a prodigious number of citizens, and filled the prisons with those victims who begun to be sacrificed on the 2d of this month, and of whom, how painful the thought! the slaughter perhaps still continues.

The popular Roberfpierre, who was a member of the constituent assembly, and it is thought will be one of the very first elected for the Convention, belongs also to
this

this général council of the commune de Paris.

As he has been considered as the leading member of the Jacobin society, and is distinguished by his great popularity, it surprised many when he offered to become a member of the commune de Paris, and it impressed an idea that this body intended to assume the exercise of more important functions than ever.

But he was not heard of on the 10th of August, nor did he present himself to this Conseil-general de commune till two or three days after—for although he is a patriot of the first eminence, and a most undaunted haranguer and disputant in popular assemblies, yet he is thought rather to be inclined to shun such contests as that which was carried on in the square of the Caroussel on the 10th of August.

In person Robespierre is certainly not

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an Ajax, although he is thought to agree with that hero in one sentiment,

Tutius est fictis igitur contendere verbis,
Quam pugnare manu.

Few men however can *look* fiercer than Roberspierre; in countenance he has a striking resemblance to a cat-tiger.

Marat is likewise a very active member of the general council of the commune.— This Marat is said to love carnage like a vulture, and to delight in human sacrifices like Moloch, God of the Ammonites.

Amiens, Sept. 5.

We left Chantilly early this morning, and breakfasted at Clermont. The Bretons whom we heard of were still at that place; about four thousand men from the province of Brittany have passed through Clermont within this week, they march in detachments.

ments. The party we saw consisted of 600, and are to leave Clermont to-morrow.— They are stout young men, in high spirits, zealous for the service, but without arms, and undisciplined. To think of opposing those raw youths to the veteran troops of Austria or Prussia, is sending them to certain slaughter—they themselves, however, have no ideas of that nature, and are only impatient for their arms, and to see the enemy. The gaiety of those thoughtless young men made me melancholy; I could not help considering them as victims doomed to inevitable destruction.—Before we left Clermont, however, I heard something which tended to abate the interest I took in them.

Yesterday a man who sells fish at Clermont, had a dispute with some of the Bretons; he was imprudent enough to provoke them by abusive language, which included the whole detachment: they threatened to

put the man to death—for death is the only punishment in the penal code of a French mob for all sort of offences—an English mob seldom go beyond ducking. They were proceeding to execute the sentence already pronounced: one of the magistrates steep in crying, “Arretez, Messieurs, s’il vous plait--que diable on ne tue pas un homme comme ça !*” He promised that the Bretons should have justice done them, and they consented that the man who had insulted them should be carried to the town-guard, till the offence should be legally examined and redressed. The officer of the guard, either through negligence or design, allowed the prisoner to escape. The Bretons were so enraged at this that they threatened the life of the officer, who immediately absconded. Not being able to wreak their vengeance on him, they talked of fet-

* Stop, gentlemen, if you please—you do not think of killing a man in this manner!

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ting fire to the town, if either the prisoner or the officer of the town-guard was not found and punished. Twenty men were detached on horseback, by the magistrates, all over the country in search of the fish-monger—he was found at ten leagues distance from Clermont, and brought back prisoner; his guard imagining, that, at the utmost, he would be obliged to pay a small fine, and make an apology to those he had offended: a party of the Bretons forced the guard as they entered Clermont, and cut off the head of the prisoner.

Having some conversation, as we passed on our way to Paris, with a citizen of Clermont, and meeting the same person standing before the inn this day, I renewed my acquaintance with him, and he gave me the foregoing account. Several other citizens stood by while he made the recapitulation — C'est affreux ! said one—C'est horrible ! said another —C'est sans contre dit un homme de

moins ! * said a third, taking a pinch of snuff.

The whole transaction, however, is very shocking !

How is it to be accounted for ? Had the same thing happened at Paris, it would have been said, the Parisians have been accustomed to scenes of blood, and are become sanguinary.—But here is a wanton murder, committed by a set of peasants who inhabit the country at a distance from the wickedness of large cities. Power, unlimited power, is sufficient to pervert the best disposition—These peasants perceive, that they are under little or no controul; that the inhabitants of the villages, through which they pass, fear them, and that they can give vent to their passions with impunity.

* It is frightful ! said one—It is shocking ! said another—It is undoubtedly one man less in the world, said a third, &c.

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In short, they are in possession of power, and therefore, like others in the same situation, they indulge every incitement of caprice or passion, which in other circumstances they would have suppressed. No man who wishes to continue virtuous, would accept of the power of injuring his neighbours with impunity, were it offered him. No government, which values the general happiness, will permit the least privilege of this kind in any of its classes. The time has been in France, when a Prince of the Blood, or any man of high rank, could have run a fisherman through the body for abusive language, with as much impunity as those Bretons will meet with for the murder of this poor man of Clermont. But if power were to continue in the hands of peasants, things would be worse than ever; and, notwithstanding all the injustice and oppression of the old government, France would be a loser by the revolution.

Amiens, Sept. 6,

We remained this day at Amiens : I walked to the cathedral, which is a building of great antiquity, and is equal in magnificence to any in France. At a large table, immediately before the pulpit, several officers of the municipality sat, and were employed in enrolling volunteers for the frontiers—a man went up to the pulpit, and read aloud a list of the names of those persons who had sent patriotic gifts for the equipment of the volunteers; annexed to the name was the sum each gave. Notwithstanding all the genuine public spirit that prevails at present in France, this manner of proclaiming every donation, no doubt, is necessary to awake the liberality of many. A young man of a very prepossessing appearance ascended the pulpit when the other came down. In a distinct voice, and with a modest air, he spoke to the following effect—" I am one of a company, ready to march

march against the enemies of our country; after clothing and arming ourselves at our own expence, we also offer a small pittance in money towards defraying that of the public; all we can afford is a trifle; nothing but our lives, which we devote to the service of our country, will be considered of more importance.—When I speak of sacrificing our own lives, I am instructed by my companions to declare, that we expect to be able to sacrifice the lives of those slaves who, without any animosity to us, are obliged by their tyrants to march against France, because its inhabitants are resolved to be free. Many of us have parents and relations who depend for their maintenance on our industry, we recommend them to the humanity and gratitude of our fellow-citizens.”

He descended amidst the applause of the audience; and, I must acknowledge, that I have heard in other countries, as well as in
France,

France, many discourses from the pulpit less interesting than this.

Amidst the disorders and sad events which have taken place in this country of late, it is impossible not to admire the generous spirit which glows all over the nation in support of its independency. Before I left Paris, I heard of a lady who had offered to the National Assembly, to take twelve poor children, whose parents died in defence of their country, and to be at the whole expence of educating and supporting them to the age of sixteen ! I have heard of many similar instances ! No country ever displayed a nobler or more patriotic enthusiasm than pervades France at this period, and which glows with increasing ardour since the publication of the Duke of Brunswick's manifesto, and the entrance of the Prussians into the country.—None but those whose minds are obscured by prejudice, or perverted by selfishness, will refuse this jus-

tice to the general spirit displayed by the French in defence of their national independence. A detestation of the excesses committed at Paris, and against the savage demagogues, who sacrifice the honour and tranquillity of their country to ambition and revenge, not only is compatible with an admiration of this spirit; but it is such well-formed minds alone as possess sufficient candour and sensibility to admire the one, who can have a due horror of the other.

What have those citizens, flocking from every province of this extensive kingdom, spontaneously undergoing all the fatigues, and exposing themselves to all the dangers of war, in defence of their country; what have such citizens in common with assassins? Or those others, whose sex, or age, or infirmities confine them at home, but who lavish their fortunes in the same generous cause—what have they in common with persecutors, vile informers, and false accusers? Superior

perior to political and national prejudices, a generous Englishman will discriminate with candour—he will envy freedom to no nation; he will praise that public spirit in another people which warms his own breast, and which he admires in his own countrymen; he will not rejoice in the calamities of France, and wish so many millions of his fellow-creatures to be again forced under the yoke of despotism, merely because France has formerly been at war with Great Britain.

But France may be at war with Great Britain again.

If that should happen, France will then be the enemy of Great Britain, and every true British subject will be the enemy of France, and do all in his sphere to subdue and bring her to reason.

But, in the mean time, should a band of wicked men acquire undue influence with the people of France by zealous pretensions

tensions to patriotism, or should the expected National Assembly itself, through folly, ambition, or barbarity, or by a combination of all the three, blast the hopes of a free constitution, and ruin the happiness of their country, still the cause for which the revolution was undertaken remains the best in which men can engage; the folly, ambition, and barbarity of individuals, may consign their own names to the execration of mankind, but cannot diminish the intrinsic value of freedom.

It is, however, when the cause of liberty is in danger of being dishonoured by some who pretend to be its supporters, that those who have a just sense of the blessings it confers will avow their sentiments, and refuse to join the undiscerning herd, who turn that indignation, which is due to the wretches who disgrace the cause of freedom, against freedom itself. It is at such times that their avowed attachment is of most
import-

importance, because it is then only that, in a free country, the interested votaries of power dare to preach their slavish doctrines.

There was no need to inculcate the value of liberty when the tyranny of Louis XIV. was dragooning his subjects out of their country, or shutting them up in dungeons, or chaining them to oars: the example of such atrocious deeds rendered precept superfluous. But when shocking crimes are perpetrated under the banners of liberty, by the tools of despotism, it is then necessary to vindicate the purity of the one from the guilt of the other.

Before I left Paris, I heard a person who was filled with indignation at the recital of the horrors then committing, cry, "D—n liberty, I abhor its very name!"—The indignation was just; but surely it was ill directed.

If he had been hearing a recital of the cruelties which have been exercised on various occasions

occasions under the pretext of zeal for the Christian religion, whose essence is mercy and good-will to man, he might with equal justice and discernment have said, "D—n the Christian religion, I abhor its very name!"

No dispassionate man will deny that liberty in the abstract is good; yet it becomes a blessing in society only as restrained by just laws, and combined with government: men of the best characters, who are equally the friends of liberty, will differ with regard to the mode of this combination.

From the effects it has hitherto produced, few will admire that which has existed in France since the 10th of August; but whatever horror we may feel at the crimes of ambitious, unprincipled individuals, the candid will approve of the national spirit of the people in defence of their national independence; and the benevolent will wish that it
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may be rewarded with the blessing of a free and well regulated government.

With respect to those with whom sentiments of general benevolence have little effect, it may be useful to remind them, that the prosperity of England, as a commercial country, suffers by the misery of France.

Flexcourt, Sept. 7.

We intended to have left Amiens early this morning, and ordered post horses accordingly—the postmaster detained us by pretending he had no postillion: we afterwards found that he had furnished horses and postillions to others, and detained us under frivolous and false prettexts. The only reason I could imagine for this preference was, that instead of going to the post-house we had driven to another inn. Understanding that there were two commissaries

farries from the National Assembly at Amiens; we made a complaint to them of the postmaster:—they directly ordered a corporal and four of the national guards to bring the postmaster before them. They told him it was his duty to have postillions ready for the use of travellers: they accused him of serving others who came after we had ordered horses, and said, it was his duty to be impartial; but if favour was to be shewn it ought to be to strangers, and particularly to the English, a people for whom they had a great esteem, and whom they considered as their friends. Without listening to the man's explanations, they threatened to send him to prison if he did not provide us with horses and postillions directly. After abusing and threatening the man a great deal, one of the commissioners said, Eh, bien l'ami, you will provide the gentlemen with what they want, will you not? The postmaster said he would do his best; on

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which, by an instantaneous transition from every appearance of anger, assuming a conciliatory countenance and accent, he filled a tumbler full of Burgundy to the postmaster, and desired him to drink *à la nation*, and dismissed him.—We had the postillions and horses a few minutes after.

I went last night to the playhouse at Amiens.—The house is commodious, the play was well acted, and the audience numerous; they seemed highly pleased with their entertainment.—I am astonished at the mirth and gaiety which the French display at all public places, in the present state of the country: had I come into Amiens without any previous knowledge of the circumstances in which France at present is, I should not have had the least suspicion, from the appearance of the inhabitants in the street, and still less at public places, that they were threatened with any danger or calamity.

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A little before we left Amiens, accounts were received that the inhabitants of a village within a few leagues of that town were in a state of insurrection.—Three hundred and fifty of the national guards, and two hundred dragoons, were ordered by the commissioners to march against the villagers, who it was understood were prepared for resistance. The troops were drawn up and ready to march when we left Amiens. I had some conversation with one of the officers: I remarked, that they were going on a disagreeable service—he answered, that its being disagreeable did not proceed from the danger, because he was convinced the peasants would submit as soon as the troops appeared—but he was sure that it would be more agreeable to the whole party to be sent against the Prussians.

It was so late in the afternoon before we left Amiens, that we shall pass the night at this place: we were a good deal retarded

on the road by a coach with four horses, which we overtook, but were not allowed to pass. By the ordinance respecting posting, cabriolets or chaises with three horses each, cannot pass a coach with four: this appears an absurd regulation; on my speaking of it at the inn here, the landlord said, that it was ordained under a severe penalty, and therefore strictly adhered to, unless those in the coach desired it to be dispensed with. On this a genteel-looking elderly man came up, and assured me that he did not know of our being retarded by his carriage, otherwise he should certainly have desired his postillion to let us pass.

This gentleman remains all night at Flexcourt also; I had some conversation with him apart—he spoke with great horror of what lately happened at Paris—and expressed surprise that strangers, especially Englishmen, could bear to be in France at present. Yours is a happy country, added he;

he ; you enjoy freedom without anarchy. I said, that I hoped that his country would attain the same blessing, and that the troubles of France were near an end. There is more reason to fear, resumed he with earnestness, that they are but beginning.—The people are misled; they have been taught dangerous maxims, which it will be very difficult to induce them to relinquish.—Every thing is pushed to excess, so that the remedy of certain evils has become worse than the evil itself. The people of France were tyrannized over, to remedy which they are now made tyrants. I myself, continued he, heard some members of the National Assembly reason with a set of the populace, to persuade them not to persist in an outrage against which there was a decree of the Assembly, and to prove to them that they ought to obey the dictates of the supreme court of the nation. What do you think was the answer of one of the crowd

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to

to this remonstrance? "The National Assembly ought rather to obey our dictates, since they are only the *representatives* of the people, whereas we are the *people* ourselves." This shews, added the gentleman, in what a dreadful state we are:—a set of villains mislead the people, and, by the means of the people, domineer over the National Assembly; this will be the ruin of France, continued he, and not the army of Brunswick.

I mentioned the Bretons and other troops I had seen going to reinforce their army, and hinted that their want of discipline would give the enemy a great advantage over them. "Many of my countrymen will be destroyed undoubtedly," answered he, "but others will press on in their place; courage and impetuosity will overpower discipline, and, believe me, France has nothing to fear from foreign enemies, but every thing from internal discord and villany. This idea I find universal among the French: those
who

who approve of the revolution; expect that France will soon enjoy more power and prosperity than ever; those who disapprove of it, lament the disorder under which their country suffers, but still think the foreign armies will be baffled."

Abbéville, Sept. 8.

I was informed by the landlord of the inn at Flexcourt, that the gentleman with whom I conversed last night had set out very early this morning. The business of this inn is carried on by the landlady and her two daughters, the landlord being a gossiping fat man, who does nothing; and is harmless in all respects, except that he is eternally in the way, and teases the guests a good deal with his conversation.

After he had told me that the gentleman was gone, that he lived at some leagues distance, that he had known him long, and that he was a very good kind of man, he drew

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me a little aside, and added, " C'est un fier aristocrate; mais je me suis fait un principe de ne le dire à qui que ce soit au monde, parce que cela pouvoit lui occasioner quelque malheur—et vraiment c'est un digne homme, et mon ami de tout temps*." I was going away, but he held me a little by the sleeve, and added, " Surtout, n'en dites rien à ma femme, parce qu'elle est une démocrate enragée, et qu'il lui est impossible de garder un secret†."

No, no, said I.

" Oh jamais !" continued the landlord, " si elle le sçavoit une fois, elle ne pourroit s'empêcher de le dire au premier passant‡."

* He is a great aristocrate; but I make it a rule never to mention this to any body, as it might bring him to trouble, for he is a worthy man, and has always been a good friend to me.

† Above all, say nothing of this to my wife, because she is a violent democrat, and, besides, never could keep a secret.

‡ Never—If she knew it, she would tell it to the first stranger who arrives.

On

On arriving at the gates of this town, we were conducted to the town-house by one of the national guards. Some of the magistrates were there, who, having examined our passports, behaved with great civility, and asked many questions regarding the state of affairs at Paris. The election for the Conventional Assembly is carrying on at present in this town. A great many of the electors live at the inn in which we are; of thirteen members to be chosen here, six are already elected. One of the electors told me, that they once had thoughts of electing Mr. Thomas Paine as one of the deputies of this department; but they had dropped that idea on hearing that he was already elected for the departments of the Pas de Calais, and that of l'Oise.

Abbéville, Sept. 9.

As the elections are carrying on, we remain here. I went yesterday and to-day to the church, where the election is made by ballot.

ballot. One deputy was chosen yesterday, and another this morning very early. One of the electors, who accompanied me from the inn, told me, that a considerable number had lost their votes by coming too late, by which means a man who was *par état un cultivateur* was elected that very day. This profession of a farmer is becoming more respectable every day in France; and if they ever should enjoy a well-established free government, the nation will be full of yeomanry. I asked of my informer what kind of man this cultivateur was? He answered, that he was a very worthy man, with plain sound sense, although his understanding had not been so much enlightened by learning as that of his opponent, who was a lawyer: but, added he, “*Peut être il n’y a rien à regretter, car l’intégrité vaut bien la littérature pour un législateur*.*”

* Perhaps there is no reason to be sorry for this, because integrity is full as valuable as learning in a Legislator.

This

This town makes rather a gayer appearance than usual: the election of deputies for the Conventional Assembly has attracted a great number of strangers. I hardly remember to have seen the streets of any provincial town of France so much crowded, except on some festival day, as those of Abbéville are at present; nor did I ever see the lower orders in any town seem more at their ease, or in general better dressed. Abbéville is a manufacturing town, and most of the tradesmen are able to purchase the national guard uniform: the country people who frequent the markets here, seem remarkably clean and healthy. I do not know how it happens, but the female part of the French peasantry dress not only with neatness, but a kind of elegance; while the dress of the males is the most formal, clumsy, unbecoming thing in the world: —that women should dress with more taste and fancy than men, is natural; but why this should appear

pear in a greater degree among one class of one particular nation, than in others, I know no reason. This is evidently not the case in England.

What will disturb the gaiety of this town, and fill the breasts of many with fear and inquietude, is the departure of five hundred of the inhabitants for Chalons, which is to happen to-morrow : these form a band of fine-looking young men, all well clothed and well armed ; they have been embodied for some time, and seem expert at the usual manœuvres of military exercise ;—but the chief quality, and that which must be most depended on in those who are marching from every part of France against the foreign enemy, is that active enthusiastic ardour with which they are all inflamed.

As I was walking with my son this day, on the ramparts, we overtook a person, with whom I entered into conversation. He informed me that he was a protestant;
that

that he lived at some leagues distance from Abbéville, and was now here in the quality of an elector. I spoke to him of the universal spirit which pervaded the country, and the numbers coming from all corners to fight in its defence, which, I added, left little doubt of the enemies being ultimately repulsed.

“ If the Almighty (replied he) takes the part of France, the enemy will undoubtedly be repulsed with loss and disgrace; but if he is otherwise inclined, the number and bravery of our armies will be of little avail. It is not,” continued he, “ the Prussians, or Austrians, or Russians—no—nor all the combined powers of Europe that we have to fear, but the displeasure of God, on account of our neglect of religious duties:”—He added, with a sigh, “ that this neglect had arrived at a most alarming height in France of late.” There was no denying the first clause of his observation, and I had no in-

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clination

elimination to dispute the second ; however, I said, that it afforded me pleasure to find that the protestants were so much better treated now than formerly.—“ It is fortunate for us protestants (he replied) that we are not persecuted as we were in former times; but it is unfortunate for all France, that, along with the spirit of persecution, that of religion daily diminishes.”

I observed that, as nothing could be more opposite to true religion than a spirit of persecution, the former, it was to be hoped, would return without the latter ; but, in the mean time, the protestants were happy in not only being tolerated in the exercise of their religion, but also on being rendered capable of enjoying every privilege and advantage which the catholics themselves enjoy.

“ We are not allowed those advantages (resumed he) from any regard they bear to

our

our religion, but from a total indifference for their own."

Whatever the cause may be, said I, the effect is the same with regard to you.

No, replied he, the effect might be better, not only with respect to us, but to all France, for the spirit of persecution might have disappeared without an indifference for all religion coming in its place ; and in that case there would have been more probability of the true religion gaining ground ; for it is easier to draw men from an erroneous doctrine to a true one, than to impress the truths of religion on minds which despise all religion whatever.

But although you may not be able to make them converts, I replied, still you may live happy among them, in the quiet possession of your own religion, and all your other advantages.

I doubt it much, resumed he ; being persuaded that, in a country where religious
sentiments

sentiments are effaced from the minds of the bulk of the people, crimes of the deepest guilt will prevail in spite of all the restraints of law.

It is a pretty general opinion, and has been much insisted on, and variously illustrated by the philosophers of this century, that religious zeal instigates men to more exorbitant acts of cruelty and injustice than any other motive.

I was reflecting on this, after parting with my protestant acquaintance, when, by accounts from Paris, I learned, that, on the very morning of the day on which we left that city, above two hundred priests who refused to take the oaths (*prêtres réfractaires*), and were confined in the convent of the Carmes—it is shocking to relate—but I am assured that there was considerably above two hundred of those poor men inhumanely massacred within the walls of that convent. M. Sicard, the celebrated instructor of the
deaf

deaf and dumb, was the only person saved, and he, by the active and intrepid efforts of a Mr. Monnot.

Nobody will pretend that these horrid massacres proceeded from religious zeal: those poor priests were the ministers of the same religion with their assassins. What can the records of religious persecutions present more atrocious? Other motives, then, can instigate men to as exorbitant acts of cruelty and injustice, as a mistaken zeal for religion ever did.

A mob of fanatics may be instigated to murder those whom they believe to be the enemies of God and of religion, but will refuse to assassinate their fellow-creatures in any other cause. A mob, devoid of religious impressions, may be instigated to murder, in any cause where their interest is concerned, when they think they can do it with safety; and it cannot be doubted, that if religious sentiments had kept any hold of

the minds of the directors or executors of the late massacres at Paris, they never would have been either the one or the other.

In the present times, therefore, when all idea of persecuting men on account of a difference of religion is banished from Europe, I am persuaded that promoting a sense of religion in the minds of the people at large, would be less liable than ever to be perverted into wicked purposes, and, of course, more beneficial to general society.

Boulogne, Sept. 10.

This morning, a little before we quitted Abbéville, a very singular incident occurred in the church where the deputies were elected. A lady of that town had, some time since, sent a liberal patriotic gift to the National Assembly; she was much praised for this act, which made a great impression on one elector in particular. What this gentleman most admired in hu-

man nature, was the art of composing verses, and the quality of generosity; he had a higher relish for the first in himself than in others, whereas the second delighted him more in others than in himself.

He composed a poem in praise of the lady above-mentioned, wherein he enumerated all her virtues, and insisted particularly on that of which she had given a recent proof. He carried this composition to the church during the election, and was reading it to a circle of the electors, when one, who did not hear distinctly, called "a la tribune." The poet instantly ascended the pulpit, and read his verses with astonishing emphasis. They pleased in such a manner that the whole audience fell into repeated fits of laughter, and the poet was delighted with the success of his verses. At last some one, who thought that such a happy composition should be enjoyed in all shapes, exclaimed, "Chantez les!" which request

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being

being repeated by others, the author, after a few preparatory hems, adapted the verses to a tune of his own *immediate* recollection. I can hardly imagine that any of his countrymen, on the frontiers, will shew more intrepidity than this man displayed on this occasion.

The state prisoners, who have been so long confined at Orleans, were ordered to be conducted to Paris; but on the dreadful disorders which happened in that city, it was thought improper to carry them thither, and the Assembly ordered that, instead of Paris, they should be taken to Saumur. The guards who had been sent to perform this duty, persisted in executing the first order, even after they had received the second: this gave great uneasiness to the friends of the prisoners; and, on its being mentioned in the Assembly, a third order was issued to carry the prisoners to Saumur. The guards, we are informed, obeyed the orders of the
 Assembly,

Assembly, by not taking them to Paris, but disobeyed them in refusing to conduct these prisoners to Saumur; and, instead of either, are actually carrying them to Versailles.

What is the meaning of this? those troops would not disobey the Assembly of themselves—They must be acting under the influence of some man, or body of men, who do not appear.

Yet while Paris is so little under government, that it is thought unsafe to carry prisoners to it, still I hear of no private assassinations, no street robberies—all the villanies of this people seem to be committed under some pretext of a public or patriotic nature.

Although the people in general, both those of Paris and those I have conversed with since we left it, lament the manner in which the prisoners were put to death; yet many believe that they deserved to die, and that they would have been equally executed

had the forms of law, and rules of justice, been previously used.

If this could be proved, which certainly it cannot, it would form no palliation of the criminality of the authors of the massacres. He that, from private hatred or mere wantonness, stabs a murderer, who is in the hands of justice, and about to be tried for his life, commits a murder; and the man who is guilty of such a violation of law, would offer in vain to prove the guilt of the person he had stabbed; it would not be allowed in his defence.

Very great pains have been taken, however, to urge this notion of the guilt of the prisoners as a vindication of the assassins; and also, that the assassins were no other than a promiscuous crowd of the citizens of Paris,

This idea is propagated in all the journals printed at Paris. If the editors of those journals were so inclined, they durst not
publish

publish a contrary account of the matter ; for if those massacres were not committed by a furious multitude, which the eyes of government cannot discriminate, nor the hands seize—by whom were they committed? This is a question which, I am assured, it would be much more easy than it would be safe to answer.

But what may lead to consequences of the most extensive mischief, and is as disgusting as the massacres themselves, is to see them justified in public journals, where they have been spoken of as a terrible but *necessary* example of the justice of the people. “ Men of cold phlegmatic characters,” say those gazetteers, “ assert that the sword of law only has a right to strike at the neck of criminals.—True,” add they, “ if we were not in a state of war, if an army of foreign mercenaries had not entered our country, who are in correspondence with

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those

these prisoners, to enslave the nation; and murder its defenders.

Tallien, one of the commissaries sent by the general council of the commune de Paris to the National Assembly, on the third of September, to give an account of what was passing, and had passed, in the prisons — speaking to the Assembly, used these remarkable words, “ Les commissaires ont fait ce qu’ils ont pu pour empêcher les *désordres* (the massacring the prisoners is what he calls disorders), mais ils n’ont pu arrêter, en quelque sorte, la *juste vengeance* du peuple *.”

The just vengeance of the people ! If the National Assembly had not been overawed, would they have listened with patience to such expressions ?

* The Commissaries did all they could to prevent the disorders, but it was not in their power to stop the vengeance of the people, which, in some measure, was just.

It

It never can be just in the people to exercise vengeance—that belongs to the laws alone.

The manifesto published by the Duke of Brunswick has irritated the minds of all ranks, and filled France with one sentiment of indignation. That prince must have been wonderfully misinformed respecting the state of people's minds in this country : but, indeed, I question if there would have been so much unanimity among them, had that manifesto not appeared.

Let the King of Prussia and Duke of Brunswick tyrannise over their own subjects, say they, and cane their soldiers into fighting machines, since they can bear it : but are they to tell the French nation, the late alteration in your government displeases us—you must re-establish things on the old footing ; and when you have done so, we will consider what punishment is to be inflicted on those who proposed the alterations.

tions. Such is the language I hear very frequently.

Boulogne, Sept. 11.

This town is not near so populous, nor, in my opinion, so agreeable as Abbéville. The situation of the high town, however, is advantageous and lofty, and surrounded with ramparts. The emigration of the noble, who formerly lived here, tends, no doubt, to throw a gloom on the place, which I think more remarkable here than in any town of France that I recollect. This was dissipated for some time to-day by a marriage:—The bride and bridegroom, with a number of their friends of both sexes, in their best attire, walked in procession to the church, accompanied with a band of music, playing *ça ira* ; to which the people at the shop doors and windows nodded in time, and some joined with their voices.

This nation seems always in unison with cheerfulness ; and if an accidental gloom begins

begins to overshadow them, the slightest ray of gaiety is sufficient to disperse it, and enable them to join in full chorus with the voice of joy.

A few days before we left Paris, the inhabitants were certainly not in a cheerful mood, but that was owing to a concurrence of circumstances of a nature to have hung the blackest clouds of melancholy over the minds of many people for life. I understand that theirs have brightened up in a great degree already, and that the Prussian armies, though further advanced into France, and nearer Paris than ever, give them no kind of concern; they are now fully convinced that they will be repulsed, or completely destroyed. It is fortunate for a nation, when attacked by powerful enemies, to retain a proper confidence in their own strength and resources, because that very confidence contributes to their success; but I should have full as much reliance on their
courage,

courage, if it were more modestly expressed than it sometimes is at the bar of the National Assembly.

One detachment swear that they never will quit their arms, " Qu'après avoir purgé la terre des brigands couronnés *."

Another that they will, in the day of battle, keep their ground, and remain at their post, " Aussi inébranlables que le Mont-Martre l'est devant Paris †."

Another, after declaring an everlasting hatred to tyrants, adds, " Nous faisons le serment des Spartiates, de revenir avec nos boucliers, ou d'être portés dessus; nous nous ferons tous couper en morceaux plutôt que de céder à l'ennemi le champ de bataille, et nous nous servirons encore de nos dents pour, dernières armes. Nous promettons de rap-

* Till after they have cleared the earth of crowned robbers.

† As unmoveable as Mont-martre before Paris.

porter

porter sur nos casques, a chacun pour criniere, la longue chevelure d'un Germain.*†

Men who speak such language, must fight very bravely indeed to equal the expectation which they wish to raise: for my own part, I am inclined to believe, that the French will shew a great deal of courage, because it belongs to the national character at all times; and because, at this particular time, their spirits are mounted by the energy of enthusiasm highly above the natural standard. From what I have heard, and am able to observe since I have been in this country, I am also led to believe, that the German armies will be disappointed in their expectations of being joined by the inha-

* We swear, like the Lacedæmonians, either to bring back our bucklers, or to be carried back upon them; we will all be cut in pieces sooner than yield the field of battle to the enemy; we will fight even with our teeth if other arms fail; and we promise, that each of us will return with the long hair of a German as an ornament to our helmets.

bitants,

bitants, or of insurrections in their favour. But, notwithstanding that these are my opinions, I confess that I do not feel the same persuasion that seems to prevail all over France, that the Duke of Brunswick will not be able to penetrate to Paris, so high is my idea of his military skill, and of the superiority of disciplined troops. The confidence of the French makes them overlook or despise those articles, and sometimes manifests itself in a singular manner!

On the first of this month, in a company who were dining together, the chance of the Duke of Brunswick's coming to Paris became the subject of discourse :—One gentleman offered to bet considerable odds that he would not get so far, nobody thought proper to accept the bet : he then offered still greater odds, and a person present took them, which he had no sooner done, than another observed to him, that it was surprising that
 he,

he, of all men, should have done so, because he had often asserted, that he thought it quite impossible for the Duke of Brunswick to force his way to Paris:—I think so still, replied the other; but it is very possible he may be brought here prisoner, and on that chance only, I took the odds.

The commissioners, which are sent from the National Assembly to every department of France, are endowed with the power of breaking the municipalities and ordering a new set of magistrates to be elected; also of suspending the public officers, civil or military, when there is any reason to suspect their conduct. These commissaries must likewise have very great influence in spreading those opinions which the ruling part of the Assembly wish to prevail. That republican sentiments are of this number, seems probable from many circumstances that have lately occurred, and particularly from their being avowed and even proclaimed by
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the candidates for the ensuing National Assembly. Rabaut de St. Etienne, who was a member of the first assembly, has been lately elected a deputy to the convention: it would appear that somebody had circulated a report that he was a friend to a monarchical form of government, and had no aversion to kings, provided they were honest men: this he considers as calumnious; and in his letter to the assembly, announcing his election, he professes a determined hatred to royalty and kings without exception.—“ C’est ainsi,” he adds, “ que je reponds aux calomnies, qui sont le fruit de la malveillance, accueillies par la credulité. * ”

From this a pretty strong presumption may be formed of what the complexion of the national convention will be, if ever it should exist, for there are people who still harbour

* This is the answer I give to calumnies, which are the fruits of malevolence gathered by credulity.

doubts

doubts on that head—there are however a considerable number of the deputies already elected, and, contrary to the opinion of many, all who are elected have accepted.

Boulogne, Sept. 12.

The council of the commune de Paris have the power at present of sending commissaries, as well as the National Assembly; and it would seem that the power of those sent by the former is as extensive as that of those delegated by the latter. A letter was lately read in the National Assembly from a commissioner sent by the commune to the army under Luckner, at Chalons, in which the commissary, whose name is Billaud de Varennes, complains of the conduct of the municipality, talks of breaking them if he finds that the majority do not adopt the measures which he and his brother commissaries think expedient.—He also makes some very severe remarks on the con-

duct of General Luckner, and gives such an account of the neglect of many things necessary for the troops, and the confusion and want of system upon the whole, as greatly increases the chance of the Duke of Brunswick's being able to penetrate to Paris.

One would naturally have imagined that the troops of the line were more to be depended on than the new levies made at Paris; but this does not seem to be the opinion of Billaud de Varennes, for after the discouraging statement of the situation of the troops at Chalons, and hinting at the small force which Dumourier has to oppose to the numerous and disciplined army under the Duke, he gives the Assembly to know, that what they have most to rely on is the Parisian army—and concludes his letter with these words: “Courage, mes chers concitoyens! Brunswick doit trembler,

car

car les Parisiens sont à dix lieues de son camp*."

Most people (exclusive of the French themselves) will be of opinion, that it is not the Duke of Brunswick who has the greatest reason to tremble; and that the Parisians will act wisely in not approaching nearer to his camp.

Boulogne, Sept. 13.

The character of some of the deputies already chosen by the department of Paris, does not tend to convey high expectations of the ensuing Convention. Marat is of the number: he is supposed to have obtained this honour partly by his own popularity among the low classes, and partly through the influence of a faction, at the head of which are Danton, the minister of

* Take courage, my fellow-citizens! Brunswick may tremble, for the Parisians are within ten leagues of his camp.

C c 2

justice,

justice, and Roberfpierre. As the reputation of Marat was not of pure white previous to the 2d of September, and has been considered of a scarlet hue since, it was thought necessary to prepare the minds of the electors, and endeavour to conciliate them in his favour, before the day of election : for this purpose Chabot, who was formerly a Franciscan friar, has been since a patriotic orator, and is already chosen a deputy to the Convention, made an oration in his favour in the society of Jacobins, of which many of the electors are members. As this discourse is certainly of a very extraordinary nature, and as it discovers the disposition both of the orator and the person he recommends, I shall give the following passage from it—

“ On a reproché à Marat,” said the capuchin, “ d’avoir été sanguinaire; d’avoir, par exemple, contribué au massacre qui vient d’être fait dans les prisons; mais en cela il étoit dans le sens de la revolution; car il n’étoit

n'étoit pas naturel, pendant que les plus vaillans patriotes s'en alloient aux frontières, de rester ici exposé aux coups des prisonniers à qui l'on promettoit des armes et la liberté pour nous assassiner. On dit qu'il a été sanguinaire parce qu'il a demandé plus d'une fois le sang des aristocrates, et même le sang des membres corrompus de l'assemblée constituante. Mais il est connu que le plan des aristocrates a toujours été et est encore de faire un carnage de tous les sans-culottes : or, comme le nombre de ceux ci est à celui des aristocrates comme 99 est à un, il est clair que celui qui demanda que l'on tue 1 pour éviter qu'on ne tue pas 99, n'est pas sanguinaire. Il n'est pas non plus incendiaire, car il a proposé de donner aux sans-culottes les depend illes des aristocrates ; il ne peut donc pas être accusé d'avoir voulu les incendier*?"

Not-

* Marat is reproached with being of a sanguinary

Notwithstanding the merciful spirit and logical force of reasoning which appears in this precious morsel of eloquence, it was not thought safe to trust entirely to it—

disposition: that he contributed, for example, to the late massacres in the prisons; but in doing so he acted in the true spirit of the revolution, for it was not to be expected that, while our bravest patriots went to the frontiers, we should remain here exposed to the rage of the prisoners, who were promised arms, and the opportunity of assassinating us. We are told that he is sanguinary, because oftener than once he demanded the blood of the aristocrats, and also that of the corrupt members of the constituent assembly. But it is well known, that the plan of the aristocrats always has been, and still is, to make a general carnage of the sans-culottes. Now, as the number of the latter is to that of the former in the proportion of ninety-nine to one, it is evident that he who proposes to kill one, to prevent the killing of ninety-nine, is not a blood-thirsty man. Neither can he justly be called an incendiary, for he proposed to give the spoils of the aristocrats to the sans-culottes! how then can he be accused of wishing to burn them?

Roberfpierre thought it necessary to add the weight of his eloquence. In a harangue made by him in the electoral assembly, the import of which was to point out the qualities of most importance in a deputy for the conventional assembly ; he at length pointed out Marat and Le Gendre as two men highly worthy of the suffrages of the electors — They were both chosen accordingly. — Marat's merit is notorious : what recommended Le Gendre to the patronage of Roberfpierre I know not, unless it be that he is by profession a butcher.

Calais, Sept. 14.

Before we left Boulogne this morning, we heard that the state prisoners, soon after their arrival from Orleans, were massacred in the streets of Versailles ! — These repeated massacres fill the mind with horror — create a detestation of the people who can suffer such things, and will injure the French revolution

tion more than if the Duke of Brunswick had beaten their armies, and were in possession of Paris itself.

I abhor writing any more about them—
Wretches!

Calais, Sept. 15.

I should be sorry to say any thing in favour of that despotism which has prevailed in far the greater part of the globe, from the earliest period of recorded manners and government—nor do I wish to urge any thing in extenuation of that complex system of slavery under which the whole French nation, though in unequal degrees, were debased and oppressed; and least of all would I depreciate the merit of those who, from honest indignation at injustice and tyranny, and a generous desire of obtaining equal laws, and a limited monarchy, united their efforts in overthrowing the old arbitrary system.

But

But had those patriots been able to foresee all the consequences with which their well-intended efforts have been followed, the wild and destructive notions with which the multitude have been inspired by unprincipled men, under the mask of patriotism, who, from the basest and most wicked motives, direct the blind fury of the people against their best friends, and render them more cruel and oppressive than their greatest oppressors ; and, finally, could those patriots have foreseen the barbarous massacres which have disgraced France of late, would it *not have puzzled their wills, and made them rather bear those ills they had, than fly to others that they knew not of?* What! are men to bear all the various wanton indignities and oppressions of a tyrannical government, rather than attempt to overturn it, lest a worse thing should befall them?

No independent mind can ever subscribe

to

to such a doctrine ; though there is reason to fear, that the horrid things which have of late been transacted in France will procure it more proselytes than ever. But those horrid transactions are not the necessary consequence of a struggle against tyranny—they are unprecedented in the history of the world ; they are not the work of the lovers of freedom, but of the infernal agents of some cowardly despot, who dares not yet rear his head.

But, terrible as the risk of such scenes are, let it be remembered, that imagination can hardly paint any thing more intolerable, than that dismal, hopeless gloom, which a despotic government throws over the minds of men who have acquired a veneration for equity, for impartial laws, and a just idea of liberty. Shut out knowledge, and every sentiment of this kind, and men will live with occasional comfort in the most abject slavery : but such sentiments and
ideas

ideas having once entered the mind of man, he is wretched under despotism, and cannot taste tranquillity without rational freedom.

Such considerations naturally lead the mind to reflect on the enviable condition of that small portion of the inhabitants of Europe who live under governments free from the evils which oppressed France, and particularly those who live under a constitution so admirably poised that it requires no dangerous renovation, and contains within its fabric the safe means of repair when they are needed.

There was a search for arms all over Calais last night ; I suppose the same has taken place, or will soon, in every town in France : they find it very difficult to find arms for the immense armies now on foot.

Calais, Sept. 16.

When the magistrates and citizens of
Verdun

Verdun shewed a disposition to capitulate, and deliver up the town to the Prussians, Beaurepaire, colonel of the regiment of Mayenne and Loire, and commandant of the garrison of Verdun, no sooner heard of their intentions, than he hastened from the ramparts, where he was encouraging the soldiers, to the town-hall, where the magistrates were assembled, and used all his influence to persuade them to hold out : —but finding them determined on a measure which he thought disgraceful, he pulled a pistol from his pocket, and shot himself in the middle of the council. The volunteers whom he commanded would not allow his body to be buried at Verdun, of which the Prussians were immediately to take possession, but carried it to Saint-Menehould.

M. Delaunay having heard of this, proposed in the National Assembly, that the remains of Beaurepaire should be brought from St. Menehould, and interred in the
French

French Pantheon—"Let us treat his ashes," said he, "as Rome, had she preserved her liberty, would have treated those of Cato and Marcus Brutus. The road all the way from the Pantheon to St. Menchould is at present covered with soldiers, and shining with bayonets and pikes.

"Figure to yourselves," added he, "what an impression it will make on the minds of our warriors, when they meet the funeral chariot of one who died for liberty! the sight will *electrify* their souls, inspire them with courage, and fill their hearts with a desire of vengeance."

However natural it was for a high-spirited officer to be driven to despair at a measure, the disgrace of which, he thought, would reach himself, yet suicide is so contrary to the spirit of the Christian religion that it might have been imagined the legislative assembly of a Christian country (for they have not yet decreed the abolition of Christianity)

tianity) would have had some difficulty in adopting this measure.—No such thing—A Roman senate could not have shewn less. They immediately decreed that the body of Beaurepaire should be transported from St. Menchould, and interred in the Pantheon at Paris, with the following inscription on his tomb, “ Il aima mieux se donner la mort que de capituler avec les tyrans *.”

It was ordained at the same time, which the most scrupulous Christian in the assembly could have no objection to, that the pension of Beaurepaire should be continued to his widow and son during their lives.

The whole of this measure *seems* to be approved by the nation; those who may be supposed to be offended at any part of it keep their sentiments concealed, while those who approve, proclaim theirs in the

* He chose to put himself to death, rather than capitulate with tyrants, &c.

most

most ostentatious manner. In one journal I find the following paragraph—Que nos regrets honorent le trepas de Beaurepaire—faisons tomber devant la justice et la reconnaissance ce préjugé barbare, qui trop long temps appella foiblesse et fureur le devouement courageux de Brutus et de Caton *.

In another it is said, “ La mort est une ressource qu’il ne faut point ôter à la vertu opprimée—En décrétant que Beaurepaire est digne de l’apothéose, l’Assemblée Nationale a non seulement acquitté une dette sacrée, mais elle a plus fait encore pour les progrès de la morale que tous les traités de nos beaux esprits †.”

If

* Let our grief do honour to the death of Beaurepaire—let justice and gratitude overthrow that barbarous prejudice, which too long has given the epithets of weakness or madness to the noble deaths of Brutus and of Cato.

† Death is a resource of which we ought not deprive
oppressed

If this be true, nothing can give a stronger idea of the inefficacy of the writings of the beaux esprits towards the progress of morality.

I am greatly deceived, however, if suicide is not the effect of *feeling* rather than *reasoning*; and if the National Assembly by their decrees, and the beaux esprits by their writings, can render men happier, they will more effectually check the practice of suicide than all that can be said or written against it.

A French acquaintance of mine having pointed out the foregoing passages in the journals, said with a triumphant air, “ Vous autres Anglois croyez qu’a vous seuls appartenait le droit de se tuer.”—

oppressed virtue. In decreeing that Beaurepaire is worthy of apotheosis, the National Assembly have not only discharged a sacred debt, but it has done more for the advancement of morality than the works of our most brilliant writers.

Calais,

Calais, Sept. 17.

About the beginning of this month, two waggons full of arms destined for the army were passing through the town of Charleville, conducted by an officer of the artillery:—the populace, taking it into their heads that they were going to the enemy, arrested the waggons, and murdered the officer.

The son of the postmaster of St. Amand, on a suspicion of having given intelligence to the enemy, was killed by the populace, and his body dragged through the streets.

M. Bayeux, one of the magistrates of Calvados, being suspected of a treasonable correspondence with the emigrants, was arrested, tried, and acquitted; but the populace continuing to threaten him, he was detained in prison with a view to his being set at liberty, when that could be done with safety:—the prison was forced by the mob, and the magistrate immediately murdered.

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All those horrors, and others which could be enumerated, have happened within these few days; from which it might naturally be concluded, that it is dangerous to travel through the country of France, or walk in the streets of any of the large towns. Extraordinary and unaccountable as it may seem, however, the truth certainly is, that travellers are quite safe on the high roads, and that there is no such thing as street-robberies or housebreaking in Paris: all the murders and outrages which are committed at present in this country are in the cause of the public, and not from private interest. This is no alleviation of the evil; on the contrary, it were much less grievous for the citizens to be exposed to street-robberies and housebreakings, which were punished when discovered, than that a misguided populace should be tolerated in the exercise of justice upon whoever they consider as state criminals.

I men-

I mention this merely as a singular fact, not a proof that France is in a state of internal tranquillity ; for what can be more miserable for a nation, than that such dreadful excesses can be committed with impunity ?— Innocent people are murdered, and then we are told that the people meant well, but were mistaken.—Many of the journals palliate their greatest outrages, and say they proceeded from an excess of patriotism—None dare blame them ; never was tyrant more feared and flattered than le peuple souverain at present.

Calais, Sept. 18.

I went this morning to the Convent of Dominican Nuns, and had a long conversation at the grate with one of them, an old lady of seventy years of age—She told me she had been forty-three years in this convent ; that during that long period she had lived so free from care, and enjoyed

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such a degree of content, that she had never wished to change her situation.

As a proof of this assertion, she said that, "by a decree of the constituent assembly, when convents were thrown open, those nuns who chose to withdraw were allowed, and permission was at the same time given to those who were of a contrary opinion to remain in the convent—In consequence of which she and twenty-three other nuns had remained, with no other wish than to be permitted to end their lives there; but that now they were deprived of that hope, having lately received an order from the present National Assembly to leave the convent, which is destined for other purposes; they were to leave it accordingly within ten days. She complained of this as a great hardship on herself in particular, who had lived so long out of the world that she had forgot how to live in it:—that eight of them had agreed to try to keep house in

Calais,

Calais, by joining their small pensions, and living together; the rest were to go to their respective relations—She ended by saying that she had great reason to be thankful to God for the happiness and tranquillity she had enjoyed, particularly during the last forty-three years of her life, which, from her own observation while she had lived in the world, and from all she had learnt since, was far greater than the portion usually allotted to mankind; and that although she had no reason to expect so much felicity for the remainder of her life, she had the comfort to think that the period of her suffering, if she was to experience suffering, would be far shorter than the long course of calm enjoyment which, through the goodness of the Almighty, she had possessed for so many years.”

This nun, in spite of her age and long confinement, seems to enjoy good health and spirits; her deportment was easy, and her

manners polite :—though some part of her narrative will appear singular, it seemed to me devoid of affectation or hypocrisy, and to come from the heart.

When I took my leave of this lady, I went to the Convent of Benedictine Nuns, where a relation of my own had formerly been a pensioner—My calling at the Dominicans was through mistake—When I was introduced to the parlour of the Benedictines, I sent word that I wished to speak to a particular nun who I knew had been acquainted with my relation—A nun of a very genteel and interesting appearance came to the grate.

I saw she had been crying, though she attempted to look cheerful : she enquired affectionately about my relation, and spoke with great esteem of another lady who had been in the convent at the same time. After a short conversation, I asked if they were in the same situation with the Dominican

nican nuns?—Helas! oui, Monsieur *, she replied, and burst into tears—She was unable to speak for some time; but when she had recovered herself a little, she said, that the same option had been given to them, and that twenty-four of their number had also chosen to pass the remainder of their lives in the convent; that they were happy in each other's society, and in their being free from all cares, except the important one of their salvation—But now we are thrown back into a world which we had renounced, which we wish to forget, and for which we have no relish; *Ab, Monsieur! nous sommes bien a plaindre.* She continued crying and sobbing for some time; and then wiping her eyes, with a look of composure and resignation she said, But it is the will of God, and it becomes us to submit.

* Alas! yes, Sir.

Some readers will suspect that both the old and the young nun on this occasion affected sorrow they did not feel:—all I can say is, that if they did, they are the best actresses I ever beheld, and the most disinterested; for, more appearance of natural grief I cannot conceive, and for what purpose it could be assumed I cannot divine.

I had hitherto considered the opening of convents as the giving liberty to the most unhappy of mortals, the miserable victims of avarice and superstition. In general no doubt this is the case;—but my conversation with those two nuns confirms what I have had frequent occasion to remark, that when religious impressions are deeply engraven on the heart, they become a source of happiness, which compensates for many deprivations, and throw a constant consoling ray of light into situations which, to the general eye of the world, seem quite hopeless.

less and gloomy. Those who, being neither seduced by taste nor obliged by necessity to confine such impressions to cells or convents, where they can be of little use to any *except to the possessor*, but carry them into society with all the energy of active virtue, are certainly the happiest of mankind.

By accounts received this day, it appears that the populace have at last taken to street robbery in Paris; it has seemed very surprising to me that, in the present weak state of the executive government, they have abstained from it so long. But their robberies, like their murders, are performed under the mask of patriotism: they stop men in the streets, and make them surrender their silver shoe-buckles and their watches—Women in the public walks have also had their rings and bracelets taken from them; but they have the assurances of the robbers that all those commodities are to be applied to the use of the public on the present emergency.

Notwithstanding all the pains which have been taken to provide the troops with arms, they are still in want of muskets. By a decree of the National Assembly, the muskets are to be taken from the cannoneers, which is a very numerous and expert corps in France, and given to the volunteers who flock to the armies; some regiments of dragoons have likewise been deprived of theirs for the same purpose.

Accounts are industriously circulated, of advantages obtained by the French armies over the Prussians; nothing seems more improbable;—the Germans have, however, failed in their attempt on Thionville; yet, in spite of that failure, and the pretended advantages gained over them, they continue to advance.

Calais, Sept. 19

Nothing can be more surprising than the security and confidence of this people in the present alarming crisis. I have seen
letters

letters from Lille and Dunkirk, which describe the inhabitants of those towns in the same persuasion with those of Calais—yet it is known that the Swiss regiment of Chateauvieux has gone in a body to the enemy, and there is reason to believe that the Swiss Cantons will declare war against France—Spain, it is thought, is in the same disposition; and it is already announced in the National Assembly, that the German Empire is arming against them. “ Il ne faut pas se le diffimuler,” said Merlin de Thionville in the Assembly, “ nous avons à combattre tous les tyrans du monde, et ils ne sont pas à craindre pour un peuple libre et armé: il faut rompre définitivement avec eux. Je demande le rappel de tous les Ministres de France*.” Before he made
fo

* It is not to be denied that we have to fight against all the tyrants in the world, and they are not to be feared by a free and armed people—Let us break with them

so rash a proposal, he should have proved that the people were armed, and, what is still more to be doubted, that they are free ; but this same Merlin is not considered as so great a conjurer as his namesake was—the Assembly, therefore, did not follow his advice.

But what confirms me in my opinion that the affairs of this country are now in a more desperate state than ever, is, that it is complained of in the National Assembly, by a deputation from the municipality of Colombe, near Paris, that certain persons unknown, but who pretend to be members of the common council of Paris, and of the National Assembly itself, break open doors, enter houses, and take away what they please, and harass the inhabitants of the town and adjacent villages in various ways, on pretext of the public service.

The minister Roland also complains of them entirely—I demand that all the Ministers of France at foreign courts be recalled.

the

the anarchy which reigns in Paris, and which all his efforts cannot subdue.

Petion the Mayor, who seems willing to state things in the most favourable light, says, in a letter to the Assembly, that the outrages committed in the open streets, by robbing the citizens of their watches and rings, are put an end to : and adds, “ Paris, au surplus, est tranquille ; tout en renferment dans son sein *des élémens très inflammable* *.”

Mafuyer expressed himself in these terms : “ Si l’Assemblée Nationale ne prend pas une mesure vigoureuse, on ne peut plus rester à Paris : on en fait un lieu plus dangereux, cent fois, que les forêts les plus infestées de brigands †, &c.”

* Paris is calm for the present, but contains within her circuit much inflammable matter.

† If the National Assembly does not adopt some vigorous measure, it will be impossible to remain any longer at Paris : it is become a residence a hundred times more dangerous than the forest the most harassed with robbers.

And

And Vergniaud, with that affecting eloquence which he has at his command, after mentioning the unwillingness which the citizens of Paris shew to work in the intrenchments forming round the city, adds, "Quelle peut être la cause de cette inertie des meilleurs citoyens? Ah, messieurs, ne nous dissimulons pas, ces haines particulières, ces délations infames, ces arrestations arbitraires, ces cris de proscription, ces complots, ces atteintes portées sur les individus, cette violation des propriétés, cet oubli des loix, ces agitations inquiétantes ont répandu la consternation et l'effroi.

"L'homme vertueux se cache, il fuit avec horreur ces scènes de sang, et il faut bien qu'il se cache l'homme vertueux, quand le crime triomphe, il n'en a pas l'horrible sentiment, il se tait, il s'éloigne, il attend pour reparaitre des temps plus heureux.

"Les temps de revolution produisent ces hommes à la fois hypocrites et féroces,
comme

comme les pores de la terre produisent des insectes malfaisans après la tempête. Aujourd'hui ces pervers aristocratisent la vertu même pour la fouler impunément aux pieds. Ils démocratisent le crime pour avoir le droit de le commettre : et c'est ainsi qu'ils dishonnorent la plus belle des causes, celle du peuple, et de la liberté.

“ O citoyens ! vous voyez ma profonde émotion ; citoyens arrachez le masque à ces pervers qui n'ont, pour vous tromper et vous perdre, que la bassesse de leur moyens et l'audace de leurs prétentions. Citoyens, vous les reconnoîtrez facilement ; lorsque l'ennemi s'avance, celui qui vous invite à égorger des femmes et des hommes désarmés, celui-la vous a trahit et vous perd ; cet autre qui vous invite à la paix entre vous, qui vous crie de marcher sur les Prussiens : eh, bien ! celui la est votre ami. Repoussez donc les traîtres qui vous agitent et vous divisent ; faites cesser les désordres,

les

les proscriptions, et vous verrez une foule de défenseurs se réunir à vous, travailler et combattre pour vous.

“ J’entends dire, mais nos armées peuvent éprouver des revers : et alors, les Prussiens viendront-ils à Paris ? Non, ils n’y viendront pas, non, si les citoyens se réunissent, et si Paris se met en état de défense : car alors ils seroient accablés sous le débris de l’armée qu’ils auroient vaincue, comme Samson sous le Temple qu’il avoit renversé *.”

This

* What can be the cause of this unwillingness among the best citizens ? Ah ! Gentlemen, there is no concealing it ; those hatreds, those infamous accusations, those arbitrary arrests, those rumours of proscriptions, of plots ; those personal attacks, those violations of property, this contempt of the laws, all those distressing circumstances have spread consternation and terror.

The virtuous man hides himself ; he flies with horror from those scenes of blood :—good reason have the virtuous to hide themselves when the wicked triumph.

They

This is unquestionably a very fine piece of eloquence ; but what effect can eloquence have on the hearts of men capable of robbery

They are silent, they retire, and wait for happier times before they appear again.

Times of revolution produce men who are at once hypocritical and ferocious, as, after tempests, the pores of the earth send forth destructive insects.

Those perverse men accuse virtue itself of aristocracy, that they may trample upon it with impunity ; and adorn crimes with the name of democracy, that they may be allowed to commit them : thus they disgrace the noblest of all causes, those of the people, and of liberty.

O my fellow-citizens, you see how deeply I am affected ! Citizens, tear the mask from those wretches who have nothing to deceive you with, but the most despicable means, and the most impudent pretensions.

Citizens, you may easily discover them.—He who, when the enemy advances, excites you to slaughter women and unarmed men, it is he who betrays and ruins you. That other, who persuades you to peace among yourselves, and to march against the Prussians, he is your friend.

Reject then the traitors who agitate and divide you.

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Put

bery and murder? they must be subdued by other weapons.

Calais, Sept. 20.

There is great reason to believe that anarchy and some new event of horror will soon take place at Paris; our accounts received this day inform us, that the same manœuvres are going on at present that were performed previous to the second of September. News are industriously spread one day, that Dumourier has gained a victory; and the following day it is circulated, with equal industry, that he is defeated; and it is thought that this is done by emis-

Put an end to disorder and proscription, and you will immediately behold a number of defenders, who will unite their efforts, and fight for you.

But it is said, our armies may be repulsed, and then the Prussians will come to Paris.—No, they cannot come if the citizens unite, and if Paris is put in a state of defence, because they will be crushed by the remains of the army they defeated, as Samson was by the temple he overthrew.

faries

aries of the enemy, that the people, while their minds are agitated, may fall on some destructive measure now, as they did then. Placards have been stuck on the walls, inviting the populace to exterminate the four hundred members of the National Assembly who voted against accusing M. la Fayette. At one of the sections, the inequality of fortune was declaimed against, and an agrarian law proposed.

This was to have been expected from the instant that the word *Egalité* was brought forward in the way it has lately been—Equal laws, and impartial justice, may have been originally meant; but equal wealth, it was natural to expect, would be the explanation of the people, particularly such as have nothing.

The Duke of Orleans is chosen one of the deputies for the department of Paris: he was proposed, according to our accounts, by the same people who proposed Marat;

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but the name of Orleans, as being nearly allied to the crown, gave offence to the electors; he, therefore, desired the general council of the commune of Paris to give him another name, more agreeable to the ears of his fellow-citizens. In consequence of this request, the council have signified to him that, as a reward, for that zeal for liberty which he had manifested from the commencement of the revolution, and even before that period, and for his attachment to the cause of the people ever since, they would adorn him with the beautiful name of Equality (*du beau nom d'Egalité.*)

Considering the immense fortune of Monsieur Egalité, and the disproportion it bears to what would fall to his share in case the patriots who push the agrarian law should carry their point, one can hardly think that this new name is very agreeable to him. His former name gave offence because too near to the crown; his present beautiful new
name.

name may give offence, because it is at too great a distance from the immensity of his wealth.

All the patriotism he has displayed before or since the revolution, however pure and free from resentment or selfish motives, may not secure him from that ingratitude which heroes and statesmen so often experience.

Were not all the services rendered to their country by Miltiades, Aristides, Camillus, and Scipio, repaid with ingratitude? What then can Monsieur Egalité expect? The present race of Parisians differ in some respects, it is true, from the ancient Greeks and Romans; they may, however, resemble them in ingratitude: but, even in that case, they cannot deprive him of the *testimony of his conscience*.

Rolland, the minister, has informed the Assembly that, on the night of the sixteenth of this month, the Garde-Meuble, where the crown-jewels are kept, was broke open,

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and

and that diamonds and other valuable things had been carried away.

The Prussian army, now on the road to Paris, may probably conceive that this loss falls on them, rather than any body else.

Cahis, Sept. 21.

The French and German armies have already met—they have had some partial shocks; the superiority of the latter appears on every occasion, as every body indeed foresaw, particularly those who have been bred to the military profession, many of whom I have heard assert, before I came to France, that twenty or twenty-five thousand of the disciplined troops of Prussia, would drive all the noisy rabble of national guards before them like a flock of sheep, and that they could meet with no serious opposition except from fortified towns. I was always unwilling to believe, that severity of discipline gave a greater probability of victory than all the enthusiasm which could spring
from

from the best of causes : it is disagreeable to imagine, that the cane of the serjeant can make men fight better than the idea of defending all that is dear in life. From what has happened hitherto in this campaign against France, that proposition, disagreeable as it is, will be confirmed. For what have the French done with all their enthusiasm? The only towns on their frontiers that have been seriously attacked are taken ; their armies continue to retire before the enemy ; General Dumourier himself, in a letter to M. Servan, the minister of the war department, says, that, in an attack on his rear, ten thousand men had run away shamefully from fifteen hundred of the enemy.—What is to be expected from such an army?

Every thing, in the mean time, seems in a dreadful state at Paris. M. Rolland has made some very earnest representations of the disorders which exist, to the National Assembly ; in one, he says, that five hun-

dred citizens have been arrested by orders of the committee of the municipality, and that the prisons will soon be as full as they were before the second of September; in consequence of which, Vergniaud declaims, and the Assembly decree; but the remedies pointed out are not applied, the decrees are not obeyed, the executive power seems still to be in the hands of committees chosen from the community of Paris, which are thought to be directed by men of atrocious characters, suspected of being the authors of the massacres. In the midst of this awful scene of confusion, the Assembly spend many hours in regulating the various articles of the proposed decree respecting divorce.

At a time when two frontier towns are taken, their armies repulsed, and the enemy advancing—when their fellow-citizens are thrown into prison in the most arbitrary manner, and they themselves threatened
by

by assassins; for men, at such a moment, to shew as much anxiety to get rid of their wives, as of all the other evils put together, gives a strong idea of the misery which these poor men must have endured in their married state.

A courier arrived last night from the National Assembly, requiring ten thousand men more from this department, Du Pas-de-Calais: this occasions a good deal of uneasiness—the town of Calais will be under some difficulty to furnish its quota.

It has rained incessantly for some days; if the same has been the case where the Duke of Brunswick's army is, it must greatly impede his progress, and distress the soldiers.

As I stood for shelter from the rain, under the piazza of the town-house, I observed two women who had just obtained passports for England, one was in the character of maid to the other: she who was
dressed

dressed as the maid, is a woman of rank; I had seen her frequently, when at Paris, in her real quality: they seemed impatient to get away, and crossed the square in the midst of the rain to go to the packet-boat.— Her impatience proceeded partly, I suppose, from uneasiness at being recognised, though I turned my face from her the moment I saw her, for fear of giving that suspicion. I am happy to think they have got away without farther trouble. This lady, however, must have strong reasons for quitting France at present, because, by the law against emigrants, which, by an unjust and cruel extension, reaches to females, her whole fortune will be forfeited.

A number of poor priests have fled to this place, and are skulking in different houses, till such time as they can find opportunities to cross over to Dover.

I know one pious and charitable lady, who has been very serviceable to several,
and

and conceals and entertains them till they can be conveyed away with safety.

September 22.

I have heard and read of many persecutions which were excited by priests in all countries: the only persecution I ever was witness to, is that which exists at present against them in this country, and a most severe one it is.

The dislike which some people are fond of expressing against particular classes of men, which, from their nature, must comprehend men of all characters, like that which others express to the natives of particular countries, always proceeds from a childish, illiberal, and uncandid turn of mind.

The clergy of France have been treated with cruelty since the beginning of the revolution: that the church required a radical reform, with regard not only to the extent of her possessions, but also the manner
in

In which they were distributed, will be pretty generally allowed: it was, perhaps, expedient that many of the great benefices should be applied to the public use as they became vacant; but what men have obtained the possession of by the existing laws of their country, they cannot justly be deprived of by any future law; and the levity with which the hardships put on the clergy of France is spoken of, by many of the laity of this country, is very disgusting.

But the indifference with which men look on acts of oppression to which they themselves are not exposed, and the indignation they express against every act of the same nature to which themselves are liable, does not belong exclusively to men of particular professions or countries, it is, I fear, in human nature.

I have heard people who professed much public spirit, and uncommon affection for their country, declaim on the utility of applying

plying two-thirds of the church livings in England to the extinction of the national debt. When the hardships to which this project would subject the clergy, was stated as a slight objection, they declared it no objection at all, but rather a circumstance in favour of the project, because it would be a just punishment for their selfishness, and they would still have too much left for men of moderate desires. But when a small reduction of the legal interest of money was hinted, as a means which would also facilitate the payment of a debt which seemed to lie so heavy on their minds, those patriots, whose money was invested in the funds, exclaimed against such an idea as a flagrant breach of public faith, and the most horrid injustice.

Those who, taking advantage of a particular tide of prejudice, direct its current against the clergy, under the pretext that priests have been persecutors, would themselves, in those days of persecution, have been

been the greatest of all persecutors, had they been priests.

The severity of some late decrees against those of the French clergy who refrain from taking the oaths, seems to me highly unjustifiable. How can any candid mind feel resentment against men for sacrificing their interest, their establishment in life, from a scruple of conscience? Taking it in the worst light, it can only be construed into weakness.

Yet these conscientious, or simple men, have been deprived of their livings, banished their country, and many of them massacred as they were going into banishment.

But many of the clergy, who refuse to take the oaths, are accused of exciting the people to insurrection against the new government, and to insult the clergy who have taken them. Let those against which this is proved be punished according to law; but let not the innocent be punished in a

manner which would be barbarous, if even inflicted on the guilty.

Nothing has exposed the King to so much suspicion and obloquy, as his choosing his chaplain and confessor from among those priests who refuse to take the oaths: none but of this class were seen at court, or admitted into the Tuileries for some time before the 10th of August, which was thought a proof of his Majesty's approbation of their principles and conduct; and, in spite of his having himself accepted and sworn to the constitution, this partiality to the priests who had done neither, was represented by his enemies as an evidence that in his heart he hated the constitution, had a secret correspondence with his brothers, and was doing every thing he durst venture to favour the designs of the enemies of France.

There is absurdity, however, as well as want of charity in this interpretation; for if the King is so devoid of principle as to engage

gage in a plot to betray his country, and overturn the constitution to which he has sworn to be faithful, how should he be so scrupulous as to refuse to employ those priests who could render him most popular, and, of course, enable him the better to carry on the plot?

To suppose he was engaged in such a conspiracy, is supposing him a man of neither principle nor piety: to accuse him of employing priests whom his conscience approved, in preference to those whom policy pointed out, is admitting that he possesses both.

From all I have learnt of Lewis the Sixteenth, he is a man of integrity, devoid of ambition, but with an uncommon share of indolence; whose disposition is better than his understanding, and his understanding superior to his conduct; whose inclinations are naturally benevolent; whose opinions are generally just, but whose actions are
sometimes

sometimes improper, because they are influenced by those who possess less rectitude than himself.

The preference he gives to priests who refuse to take the oaths seems to injure him as much in the minds of the popular leaders, as that which Charles the First gave to the clergy of the church of England injured him in the minds of the presbyterians and independents. Charles has even been considered as a martyr to the church of England. The inviolability which the constitution gives to Lewis will secure him from the same fate, whatever degree of rancour his enemies may bear him.

September 23.

Orders came a few days since from M. Servan, the war minister, for one thousand nine hundred muskets to be carried from St. Omer to Reims for the use of the volunteers going to Dumourier's army, many of whom advance no farther than the latter

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town for want of arms. As this convoy passed through the town of St. Quintin, it was stopped by three battalions of national volunteers; *they* also were in want of muskets, which, however, were ready for them at the department of the north, to which those battalions were marching. Without listening to this assurance, or any thing else that was said, they seized the arms of the convoy; many were broken in the tumult, and the troops at Reims disappointed.

General Dumourier writes to the war minister, that, having thought proper to change his situation, his army was attacked by the enemy during his march; that a panic had seized the rear of his army; that some cowardly or treacherous soldiers had called out, "Sauve qui peut, nous sommes trahis *!" that ten thousand men had fled from one thousand five hundred of the enemy; and that if those one thousand

* Let those save themselves who can, we are all betrayed.

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five hundred had pushed on with vigour, the whole army might have been thrown into confusion: but this not having been done, his army had recovered their spirits, and were now in a good situation. He writes in a style of the greatest confidence, that he expects to form a junction with Kellerman and Bournonville very soon, and has not the least doubt of repulsing the enemy.

It may be highly proper in a General to write in this manner to the last; but I can hardly think that he has the confidence he pretends. What dependance can be had on men who rob their own convoys, and run away at the sight of the enemy? These are the characteristics of a mob, not of soldiers. I do not know what impression this letter made on the National Assembly, but the inhabitants of this place are fully persuaded that Dumourier will be as good as his word; not that they believe their General to be superior in military skill to the Duke of

Brunswick, their expectations are founded on their conviction of the superior valour of the French over that of the Germans, or any other people ; and should they hear that Dumourier is beaten, and his army dispersed, I am persuaded they will impute it to him, or to the mercenaries in the pay of France, but not to want of spirit in the national troops.

The misfortunes of war are apt to be laid to the charge of the General by the populace of every country, who are all convinced that their countrymen are superior to their neighbours in the most essential part of a soldier's character ; and therefore, when the armies receive a severe check, or are defeated, they immediately suspect the General of treachery. The French, possessing more sensibility, and perhaps more levity, than some of their neighbours, are, of course, more subject to those suspicions ; though their nearest neighbour, who is generally believed to be of a far more cold and phlegmatic

phlegmatic temperament, has given dreadful proofs of being susceptible of the same unjust way of thinking, and of all the excesses which it is apt to produce *.

National pride is less offended when the loss of battles is imputed to the treachery of a few, or indeed to any cause whatever, rather than to an inferiority of spirit or courage in the troops. Courage is a quality which the inhabitants of every country in the world, since the beginning of the world, have claimed to themselves in a supreme degree.

The French have always thought themselves superior to any nation in Europe, in military virtue; that they even think themselves a match for several combined against them, they afford a strong proof at present.

Nec pluribus impar, was considered as a rodомontade when adopted as a motto

* The massacre of the De Witts's by the Dutch.

by Louis XIV.—it is now considered as a truth by the generality of the French nation.

I have heard Scotchmen assert, that the entire conquest of France by the English, in the reign of Henry V. was prevented *solely* by a body of seven thousand Scots, commanded by their countryman the Earl of Buchan, Constable of France : and others endeavour to prove, that the victories of Gustavus Adolphus were chiefly owing to about the same number of Scots who served in his army. The common people of Scotland, at this day, would think any man deprived of his reason, who would for a moment imagine that an army of any nation, commanded by any General that ever lived, could have withstood half the number of their countrymen led by Sir William Wallace.

The English, who laugh at their neighbours for this national partiality, are suspected

pected of having their full share of it, and of not always confining it to the *human* inhabitants of their country.

A good many years ago, returning from Paris to London, I met with a certain Englishman at Calais, who had been exhibiting in some of the towns of Flanders and the French provinces with a swarm of bees, which he pretended to have under his command:—among other manoeuvres, he said, he could make two swarms of these animals engage in battle with each other—an English swarm, for example, with a French.

And pray, said a Frenchman who was present, can you make which side you please victorious?

To which the other very gravely replied, that he could not give the victory to the French unless they were a little more than double the number of the English; because

an English bee was *precisely* equal to two French ones.

When we came to Dover, the Frenchman, who was going to London, and had taken his passage in the same packet-boat with me, put me in mind, a little before we parted, of the bee-man's declaration, which he had not been able to digest, and asked if I really believed that there was such a difference between French and English bees.

Till that instant I had not remarked that the Frenchman was hurt; I had taken it for granted that he had seen the bee-man's assertion in the same light that I did.

Being now convinced of my error, I answered coldly, that perhaps the bee-man had gone too far in asserting that one English bee was equal to two French ones; but that I was inclined to believe that two English bees would be a pretty good match for three French,

Ah,

Ah, Monsieur! said the Frenchman complaisantly, cela peut-être.

But, whatever they may think of the prowess of their bees, a very strong prejudice has always prevailed in every country in favour of the personal valour and military virtues of their countrymen. They may grant that other countries have a superiority in philosophy, in divinity, in the fine arts, in all the arts of peace—in all the arts which tend to render men happy, but never in that which spreads devastation and misery, never in that art which gives the power of subduing and domineering.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt causas melius: cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos.

September

September 24.

A gentleman of character, on whose veracity I have reliance, informed me that he was at Versailles on the day that the massacre of the prisoners from Orleans happened: he had left Paris that morning, and, on his arrival at Versailles, heard that the prisoners were expected; but had no idea when he set out, nor did he observe any thing after he arrived at Versailles, which gave him a suspicion of such an event: he went and walked a considerable time in the gardens; during this interval the prisoners arrived, and that most atrocious scene of bloodshed was performed. On his return from the gardens, he saw the mangled bodies of 52 men lying in a street on the left hand as you go to the chateau from Paris!—Some of the lower sort of the inhabitants of Versailles were looking on; the rest, struck with terror, were shut up in their shops and houses.

houses. The body of the Duke of Brissac was pointed out—the head and one of the hands was cut off!—a man stood near smoking tobacco, with his sword drawn, and a human hand stuck on its point!—another fellow walked carelessly among the bodies with the entire arm of another of the prisoners fixed to the point of his sword! This gentleman afterwards saw a waggon arrive, into which was thrown as many of the slaughtered bodies, as the horses could draw!—A boy of about fourteen years of age was within the waggon, assisting to receive the bodies as they were put in, and packing them in the most convenient manner, with an air of as much indifference as if they had been so many parcels of goods! One of the wretches who threw in the bodies, and who probably had assisted in the massacre, said to the spectators, in praise of the boy's activity, "*Voyez ce petit bon homme, comme il est hardi.*"

The assassins of the prisoners were a party who had come from Paris on the preceding evening, most of them in post-chaises, for that purpose, and who attacked those unhappy men while they remained in the street waiting till the gate of the prison which was prepared for their reception should be opened.

The circumstances of those assassins having come from Paris the night before, and most of them in post-chaises, or in the usual carriages which go to Versailles, are strong presumptions, that they were a detachment from the bloody band who performed the executions in the prisons, and that these executions by no means proceeded from the emotions of rage and despair in the people, but from a pre-determined plan, formed by a set of men who have usurped a great deal of power of late, which they wish to increase, and who think this dreadful act was necessary for their own safety.

safety.—The detachment which had guarded the prisoners from Orleans, stood shameful and passive spectators of the massacre.

The miserable prisoners being all unarmed, and some of them fettered, could do nothing in their own defence: they were most of them stabbed—and a few, who attempted resistance, were cut down with sabres.

There never was a more barbarous and dastardly action performed in the face of the sun. — Gracious Heaven! were those barbarities, which would disgrace savages, committed by Frenchmen! by that lively and ingenious people, whose writings are so much admired, whose society has been so much courted, and whose manners have been so much imitated by all the neighbouring nations?—This atrocious deed, executed in the streets of Versailles, and the horrors committed in the prisons of Paris, will fix indelible stains on the character
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of the French nation. It is said, those barbarities revolted the hearts of many of the citizens of Paris and Versailles, as much as they could those of the inhabitants of London or Windsor. It is also said, that those massacres were not committed by the inhabitants of Paris or Versailles, but by a set of hired assassins ! — But who hired those assassins ? Who remained in shameful stupor and dastardly inactivity while their laws were insulted, their prisons were violated, and their fellow-citizens butchered in the open streets ? I do not believe, that from the wickedest gangs of highwaymen, house-breakers, and pick-pockets, that infest London and the neighbourhood, men could be selected who could be bribed to murder, in cold blood, such a number of their countrymen ! — and if they could, I am convinced that no degree of popular delusion they are capable of, no pretext, no motive whatever, could have made the inhabitants
of

of London or Windsor, or of any town of Great Britain, suffer such dreadful executions to be performed within their walls.

September 25.

General Dumourier has ordered fifty of the most guilty of those who, by their cowardly or treacherous cries, spread confusion through his troops on their retreat from his camp at Grand Prè, to be stript of their uniform; pinioned, and in this disgraceful condition carried to Paris, and delivered to the section to which they belong.

He has published a proclamation or address to the soldiers, the import of which is to encourage them, and to give them the strongest assurances of victory, provided they have confidence in their officers; and shut their ears against the voice of traitors! He ends this address with these words—

“ Camarades, si on se réunit sous mes étendards avec la confiance que des enfans doivent

doivent avoir en leur père et non autrement, je reponds de ces rois du nord, de ces atelles sérénissimes, de ces cordons de toutes les couleurs, de ces paladins François, qui se qualifient encore des vains noms que nous leur avons enlevés : ils iront à Paris, puisqu'ils le désirent ; ils iront en triomphe, mais ce fera à notre suite*."

He writes to M. Servan, that he is now certain of effecting a junction with the Generals Kellerman and Bournonville; and adds, "After having been able to keep the numerous armies of the Germans and French emigrants in check, for so long a time,

* Fellow-foldiers, if you will re-unite under my standard with that confidence which children ought to have in their father, I will be answerable for those kings of the north, for those high mightinesses with their ribbons of all sort of colours; for those French knight-errants, who still assume those empty titles which we strip them of: they shall go to Paris! — yes, no doubt they shall go, but it shall be as our prisoners.

with a handful of men, you may rest assured that there is nothing to be feared, now that my army is equal to theirs."

This is speaking in so very confident a strain, that I should, however, take it all for rodomontade, were it not for his having honestly and fairly acknowledged the flight and ill behaviour of part of his army on the march : which, to be sure, is like a man determined to declare the truth ; for nothing could be more mortifying to the army, to the Assembly, and to the French in general. He is, beside, universally spoken of as a man of great acuteness and activity. But, after all, it is impossible to imagine that the Duke of Brunswick, a general of the first reputation of the age, with a numerous army of the best disciplined troops in Europe, can be baffled by an army of raw soldiers, led by one who, with all his natural quickness, is without much military experience : at all events, the affair must

be decided soon, the armies are within sight of each other; and while the Prussians threaten Chalons and Rheims, the Austrians harass the country near Lille, and some of their light cavalry have advanced within a very little of the gates of Douay. It is thought that they will attempt the siege, or at least the blockade, of the former. We hear, however, that the Convention is assembled; but I own I still think it will not sit long at Paris. What renders this conjecture the more probable, and may be added to the extraordinary circumstances above enumerated, is, that Marat is still permitted to publish his inflammatory papers, the intention of which evidently is to excite new massacres! In one which was pasted on the walls of Paris, on the 19th, he accuses many of the deputies chosen for the Convention of aristocratical and antirevolutional principles: he denounces the generals who command the armies as traitors; and

and almost all the present ministers, particularly Roland, he paints as the enemies of freedom ! Danton, the present minister of justice, is the only one of the six who is not included in his proscription ; and this omission is, in the minds of men of sense and integrity, as prejudicial to Danton, as the peculiar rancour he shews against Roland is honourable to the latter.

September 26.

The deputies to the National Assembly, to the number of 371, met on the 21st, in a hall of the Tuileries : they chose Petion for president, and Condorcet, Brissot, Vergniaud, Rabaud, La Source, and Camus, for secretaries, and adjourned till the following day ; when being again assembled in the same hall, they sent a deputation of twelve of their members to inform the National Assembly that the Convention was constituted, and about to begin the exercise of the powers

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which

which had been placed in their hands by the people of France.

The National Assembly immediately decreed, that their president, M. François de Neufchateau, at the head of a deputation of their members, should wait on the Convention, and conduct them to the hall of the Feuillans. The president then declared the *National Assembly* dissolved, and the members attended him in a body to the Tuileries, where M. François pronounced a congratulatory discourse, in which he informed the Convention, “ That the National Assembly being dissolved, their first act as citizens would be to serve as a guard to the Convention, that they might give an example to every individual, of that respect which they owed to the representatives of the nation: that, in choosing them as members of this Convention, the French people had consecrated the *extraordinary means* which they had been obliged to use for the prefer-

preservation of twenty-four millions of people, from the fatal effects of the perfidy of one man : that the object of their meeting was, to establish a constitution on the basis of freedom and equality; to give to the nation liberty, laws, and peace: liberty, without which the French disdained to live; laws, the firmest foundation of liberty; and peace, the sole end and object of war."

The Convention then walked from the Tuileries to the hall of the Feuillans, conducted by the members of the National Assembly, through a lane formed by an immense multitude of people, a body of the national guards being under arms, the drums beating and trumpets sounding during the procession. The Convention having taken possession of the hall, Manuel proposed that the president of the Conventional Assembly should be lodged in the Tuileries; that, as often as he appeared in

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public,

public, he should be preceded by guards; and that every day, when he opened the Assembly, all the members should rise; observing, at the same time, that those marks of distinction would tend to render the Assembly more respectable in the eyes of the French nation, as well as of strangers: and he mentioned the story of Cyneas, the ambassador of Pyrrhus, who, on being introduced into the Roman senate, said, they appeared like an assembly of kings.

Whether being compared to kings disgusted them, I know not; but this proposal was warmly opposed by several members, and particularly by Chabot, who said that such external pomp was despicable in itself, and improper for a popular government, in which the deputies should have no other dignity than that of being mixed and confounded with the sans-culottes who had elected them as their representatives. This Chabot was formerly a capuchin, and still displays

displays in his dress and person that partiality for dirt which distinguishes the monks of that order. He is now the rival of Marat, as an apostle of Liberty; they seem congenial in their tastes in dress, as well as politics: nature has not been partial to either in point of looks; few men, therefore, could be more excusable in endeavouring to conceal her unkindness by a few of the ornaments of art; yet no two republicans of Greece or Rome ever shewed more contempt for any auxiliary of that sort. Marat stands in much more need of it than Chabot, but he uses it less—there appears something even *recherché* in the shabbiness of Marat; he seems to think it a proof of patriotism, for in one of his late placards against Petion, amongst other crimes he accuses him of being trop bien frisé. Marat is a little man, of a cadaverous complexion, and a countenance exceedingly expressive of his disposition: to a painter of massacres, Marat's head would be inestima-

ble. Such heads are rare in this country, yet they are sometimes to be met with at the Old Bailey. The only artifice he uses in favour of his looks, is that of wearing a round hat, so far pulled down before as to hide a great part of his countenance.

I am convinced that Manuel's motion, or something of the same nature, would be of service. In decreeing guards and other marks of dignity to the president of the Convention, they would render both him and the other members more respected by the people; it would dispose them more to obedience and to order, without injuring the cause of liberty. What danger can there arise from power or dignity, which is entrusted only for fifteen days in the hands of the same man?

The present French reformers are in danger of falling into the same error with Jack in the Tale of a Tub, who tore his coat in pieces through zeal to remove the lace; in
like

like manner, they may injure the essential parts of government, by precipitately destroying the ornamental.

Danton is a man of too much importance to be left out of the Convention on any account; in conformity with the principle that no one citizen should possess two offices under the government, he sent his resignation of the office of minister of justice, and retained that of member of the Convention. He was the first who proposed that the constitution which they were about to form should be presented to the nation, and should not have force till it was accepted by the majority of the people of France, united in primary assemblies.

This and another proposal of his were decreed, namely, that property and persons were under the safeguard of the nation.

It was next decreed, that all laws not abrogated, and all powers not suspended, should continue in force, and that the public

tic contributions should be levied as heretofore.

Towards the end of the meeting, M. Collet d'Herbois, who formerly was an actor, appeared in the tribune, and directly, without circumlocution, proposed the abolition of royalty. This was supported and enlarged upon by the Bishop Gregoire, who used the following argument, and subsequent flower of eloquence: " Le mot de Roi est encore un talisman, dont la force magique peut être le principe de beaucoup de désordres; il faut donc l'abolition de la royauté. Les rois sont en morale ce que les monstres sont en physique: les cours sont toujours les foyers de la corruption, et l'atelier des forfaits *."

* The word King is still a kind of talisman, whose magic power may create many disorders; the abolition of royalty therefore is necessary. Kings are, in the moral world, that which monsters are in the natural; courts are always the centre of corruption, and the workhouse of crimes.

Although

Although many circumstances announced a disposition to a measure of this kind, I had no idea that it would have been adopted on the very first day of the meeting of the Convention, and without a strong contest. The proposal was heard with the united applause of the deputies, and the people in the galleries.

Bazire alone said, that a decree of so much importance required a little cool discussion, and ought not to be decreed in a moment of enthusiasm; but this very enthusiasm, which rendered the Assembly unfit for deciding upon such a point at that time, was the cause of its being decided instantly. The reasonable proposal of Bazire excited murmurs, and every mark of disapprobation: it was in vain that he called out that he had as little affection for royalty as any of them, and only wished that the question should be postponed, and debated, after mature reflection, with coolness, which

would give the people at large the more cause to be satisfied with their determination, and render it more likely to be permanent.

All this had no other effect than to render Bazire less popular. The abolition of royalty was decreed, and the Assembly broke up.

There seems to be a contradiction in decreeing, first, that whatever constitution the Convention might form, it could have no force till it was approved and accepted by the majority of the people; and decreeing, in the second place, the abolition of royalty.

How does the Assembly know that a limited monarchy is not more acceptable to the majority of the people, than any other form of government?

The first decree implies, that whatever constitution is most agreeable to the majority of the nation, and no other, shall be the constitution of France. The second declares,

clares, that no modification of monarchy shall be the constitution of France, whether it be agreeable to the majority of the people or not.

But this precipitate decree, for the abolition of royalty, seems not only inconsistent with their own principles, but unjust in itself; because it is punishing the King before trial, before they have made any examination into his conduct, or given him any opportunity of answering the charges made against him: not only punishing him, but inflicting the very severest punishment which, by the constitution, can, with any shadow of justice, be inflicted on him, although all were proved, and even more, than he is charged with; for, by the second article of the constitution, which regards the King, his person is declared inviolable and sacred; and the sixth article is conceived in these words: “ Si le Roi se met à la tête d’une armée, et en dirige les forces contre la nation ;

nation ; ou s'il ne s'oppose pas, par un acte formel, à une telle entreprise, qui s'exécute en son nom, il sera censé avoir *abdiqué la royauté* *."

To inflict, therefore, as severe a punishment for a crime which is only charged, but not proved, as could with justice be applied to a greater after full proof, is the height of cruelty and injustice.

September 27.

It would seem, from what happened on the first day of the meeting, that the Convention consisted entirely, or almost entirely, of republicans ; and it is natural to conclude from this, that the same spirit prevails all over France. For it is asked, how could a

* If the King should put himself at the head of an army, and direct its force against the nation ; or if he shall not, by a formal act, oppose such an enterprise, when attempted in his name, he shall be considered as having forfeited royalty.

fairer

fairer trial be made of the sentiments of the people, than was made at the last election? The National Assembly, after suspending the King's authority, decreed, that deputies shall be chosen by the people, for the express purpose of forming a constitution. There was, at this time, nothing to corrupt or bias the people in the elections, in favour of men whose principles they disapproved: any bias that could be presumed, would incline them to choose the friends of the royal family; for the French princes, supported by numerous armies, were advancing into the heart of the kingdom. This was the time for all royalists to shew themselves, either by joining the princes, or choosing men for the Convention of the same sentiments with themselves. But nobody joins the princes, and the people choose men of republican principles to give them a constitution. What inference can be drawn from this, but that the French

people

people in general wished for a republican form of government ?

It is difficult, however, to believe, that a nation who were fond, to idolatry, of monarchy a very few years ago, should so suddenly have adopted republican principles ; or if the majority really have done so, there is reason to believe, that this majority does not consist of people of any property whatever, but of the very lowest of the populace, who have nothing. It must be remembered, that when the National Assembly, on the 10th of August, decreed a Convention, they also decreed, that, setting aside the former distinction of active and inactive citizens, every Frenchman, who is not in a state of servitude, whether he could pay any tax or not, should be entitled to a vote for an elector to the Convention ; by which means a vast crowd of the most indigent rabble, who were excluded formerly, did
vote

vote for the members of the present Convention. It ought also to be remembered, that the elections were carried on after the slaughter of the Swiss, and of the King's friends in the Tuileries, while the royal family were prisoners, and immediately after the massacres in the beginning of the present month; that the rulers at Paris had emissaries at all the departments influencing the elections; and that to oppose any election, supported by them, might raise a suspicion of aristocracy: finally, it is natural to believe that, in such circumstances, those who would have preferred a limited monarchy to a republic, used what influence they had, *not* to be elected deputies, and that none but republicans endeavoured to be chosen. These considerations may account for the number of republicans chosen as deputies for the Convention, without this being a satisfactory proof that the majority of that part of the French nation, who can

be supposed to trouble their heads about government at all, has adopted republican principles, or really believe the republican form the most suitable for so extensive and populous a country as France.

September 28.

The treatment which M. la Fayette has met with, since he was obliged to abandon his army, forms a strong presumption of the falsehood of the rumours of a correspondence between the court and the enemy on the frontiers; and is a proof, that he had not that treasonable intelligence with them of which he was loudly accused. People are at a loss to discover, upon what principle of justice he is detained and imprisoned by the Prussians.

It does not appear that M. la Fayette had any view but to maintain the King's authority as it was limited by the constitution. Brissot and other republicans were his accusers. He did all in his power, it must be confessed, to
over-

overturn the ancient arbitrary government in France, and to establish a limited monarchy in its stead. The sentiments and opinions of the French nation, with respect to government, have, no doubt, undergone a great alteration since the armies and fleets returned from serving in America ; but the prevalence of republican notions in France is of a much later date, and M. la Fayette never adopted them :—a very few individuals excepted, the most zealous friends of freedom among the French had no wish beyond that of a limited monarchy ; and some of the most enlightened men, that have appeared since the revolution, were convinced that monarchy, under proper limitations, is the firmest and most durable foundation upon which a system of national liberty can be built. The flight of the King to Varennes offered a pretext for the abolition of monarchy, if such a desire had prevailed in France at that time ; and

the sentiments of the Parisians were actually tried at that very period. Condorcet, Brissot, Petion, Buzot, Gregoire, Bonnaville, and some others, had conferences and correspondences with each other, on the subject of establishing a republic on the ruins of the French monarchy. They were tempted by the opportunity which the flight of the King presented, by the very slight appearance of uneasiness or alarm which that incident occasioned, by the tranquillity and mutual confidence which appeared among the members of the National Assembly, and, perhaps, they were excited by a conviction that the King never would act sincerely in support of a limited constitution; and that the only security they could have against despotism, was in a republican form of government. But the endeavours of this junto at that time were without effect; every hint of that nature was coldly received at Paris, and, of course, had little chance

chance of producing heat in any other part of the kingdom: even the society of Jacobins were then against it; and Robespierre himself, in his declamations, avowed that he was an enemy to republicanism; for although he attempted to be a demagogue from the beginning of his political course, he did not declare himself a republican, till the torrent of public opinion seemed to rush violently that way. For the class of real republicans above mentioned, finding the nation averse to their favourite scheme, postponed any farther direct attempt at that time, but continued in conversation, and in writings, to propagate their principles and opinions, being determined to seize the first opportunity that offered to put them in action; and that such opportunities might occur the more frequently, they were extremely assiduous in impressing on the minds of the people a continual jealousy of the King, and the idea

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that

that there existed, what they called, an Austrian party, whole object was to overturn the constitution, and establish the ancient arbitrary government in France.

There are strong reasons for believing that they used every means to provoke a war with the Emperor, in the hopes that, during a war, the people's suspicions would increase, and that the court would be tempted into measures, which would afford the republicans pretexts, and, perhaps, the means of overwhelming monarchy, in the ruins of a constitution which they considered as but a feeble support for freedom. Republican principles were at length adopted, and avowed in the society of the Jacobins of Paris; they, by their influence and numerous correspondences, spread them all over France; and they flourished with peculiar strength and exuberancy in the south.

Mirabeau was always a friend to a limited monarchy, and against a republican form of government;

government; which, in his opinion, was incompatible with the extent of the French empire, and the character of the French nation. On his death-bed, he said, that with him the French monarchy would die: he probably knew of the project formed in favour of a republic, and that it would succeed, for a time at least, when no man of equal powers with himself remained in France to oppose it.

September 29,

By late accounts from Paris, the treatment which the King and royal family experience at the Temple is harsher than ever. In the Assembly, the members speak of him as the greatest of criminals, and the populace are inspired with hatred, and a desire of vengeance.

Of all the means which the republican party have adopted to bring about their favourite plan, the most unjustifiable is, the calumniating the King. Ever since his acceptance of the constitution, they have been

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indefatigable in their endeavours to render him, his government, and monarchical government in general, odious in the eyes of the people.

If a vast majority of the French nation wished for a republican form of government, and had pronounced their wishes in a clear unequivocal manner; and if the members of the Convention were convinced that it would be more conducive than any other to the prosperity of their country, it would have been more manly, more just, and, perhaps, more politic, to have decreed that form of government, and given those for their reasons, than to pretend that they were driven into that measure by the treachery of the King, and accuse him of a design to overturn that constitution, which they themselves were undermining; and to represent a prince of moderation and humanity, as a despotic blood-thirsty tyrant. Politicians are so ha-
bituated

bituated to conceal the real motives of their conduct, that they sometimes assign false ones unnecessarily, and when the true would have been more creditable.

This method of rendering a republic palatable in France, resembles in falsehood the policy of those who, at the time of the revolution in England, propagated the despicable story that, when the Queen pretended to be in labour, a child, in a warming-pan, was introduced into her bed-chamber, to be imposed on the nation as the Prince of Wales.

To give this as a reason for placing William and Mary on the throne, was an implication that, if the child could be proved to be the real son of James, William would have had no right to the crown; and was departing from the great whig principle, that a King who endeavours to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between the King and people,

people, and violating the fundamental laws, is deemed to have forfeited the crown. Which surely is a much more manly foundation to build a revolution upon, than the story of the warming-pan, whether true or false.

One among many differences between the state of the two nations at these two periods is, that England, a little before the year 1688, was so much intimidated by the executions on account of the Rye-House Plot, and of Monmouth's insurrection, that nothing less than the persevering attacks upon the laws and religion of the country, by the infatuated King, could have animated the nation to those exertions which brought about the revolution.

Whereas France seems to have been so much elevated by her recent success, in reducing the power of the crown, as to drive on furiously to republicanism, regardless of the concessions and accommodating temper
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of the prince, of the particular character of her own children, and of the dangers and difficulties attending a republican form of government.

Since, however, they have decreed that kind of government, whether they are thought to have acted wisely or foolishly in so doing, policy unites with humanity in declaring, that they ought to behave in all other respects with generosity to the unfortunate prince and his family, who are the victims of that decree; and if they do not, it requires no spirit of prophecy to foresee, that they will draw upon themselves the hatred and execration of mankind.

The republican party are aware of this, and have no hand in the harsh measures now adopted; but they have it not now in their power to stop the effect of that prejudice, which they themselves have so much contributed to raise against the King; and which another set of men, their enemies,
are

are endeavouring to make subservient to views of their own.

The republicans wished for the destruction of monarchy, but not the murder of the monarch! — Their rivals may have resolved on the destruction of the monarch, while they hope to find an opportunity of re-establishing monarchy under a prince of their own choosing.

September 30.

A man arrived at this town yesterday, who pretended that he came from Dumourier's army: he said, they had surrounded the Prussians, who were in the most deplorable condition for want of provisions; that they had already been driven to the necessity of eating one half of their horses, and would surrender at discretion when the remainder of their cavalry was devoured.

This was the state of affairs when he left the camp; but having been detained a day on the road by a fall, a courier from the army

army had overtaken him, who was going to Paris with accounts that the French, not having patience till the Prussians should finish their horses, had attacked their entrenchments, cut a great number of them in pieces, and that the rest were retreating as fast as they could. I had heard this man's story and saw him telling it to one circle after another in the market-place; and to shew how effectually the Prussians had been *haché en morceaux*, that was his phrase, he flourished with his sabre, inviting the spectators to examine it, for he declared he had received it as a present from the courier, who had taken it from a Prussian grenadier in the field of battle, and had afterwards turned its edge against those for whom it had been drawn.

The crowd gazed with awful admiration on the sabre: some of the boldest touched it, and as it was a good deal hacked, it was considered as a confirmation of the victory,
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and of the truth of every circumstance of the man's narrative. Some incredulous persons, however, suspected that he had been sent with an encouraging tale to spirit up people to offer themselves as volunteers.

October 1.

In all likelihood there will be no farther account of yesterday's victory; but it is certain, that an unsuccessful attack was made by the Prussians on General Kellerman's army, encamped on the heights of Valmy, on the 20th. As it appears that Kellerman maintained his position, so far it may be considered as a victory. Dumourier however says, in his letter to the war minister, that although the Prussians did not carry their point, they continue their march by his left, and he expects to be attacked immediately: he writes with his usual confidence, promises to press them very close, and finally, to give a good account of them—

but still it appears that the Germans are advancing.

October 2.

I heard some time since that the Duke of Rochefoucault was assassinated as he was going from his house in Normandy to the waters of Forge, in company with the Ducheſs; I did not then believe it, but now find this horrid fact confirmed. The murder of no man in France could excite more juſt horror and indignation: M. de la Rochefoucault was univerſally eſteemed as a man of integrity, and an early and diſ-intereſted friend of freedom: it is given out that the murder was accidental and through miſtake: I fear it was by ſuch an accident as produced the maſſacre at Verfailles. The Duke was preſident of the department of Paris on the 20th of June, and active to bring the leaders and abettors of the ſhameful inſurrection of that day to juſtice. I
delay

delay mentioning the particulars of this murder till I have them from better authority than I have hitherto had.

October 3.

Among the small number of prisoners who were saved from the swords of the assassins on the bloody 2d of September was M. Cazotte, a man of 74 years of age, formerly commissioner-general of the marine, but who had for several years lived in retirement at his villa near Epernay.

This old gentleman had been arrested at his house in the country, and brought to the prison of the Abbaye, in consequence of letters written by him and found among the papers of a M. Pouteau, secretary to M. de la Porte ; from which it appeared, that he was in correspondence with the emigrants ; that he advised the King to escape from Paris, and had transmitted a plan for that purpose ; that he had also advised
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the dissolution of the National Assembly : for these, and other parts of his conduct to the same tendency, he was detained in the Abbaye in expectation of a legal trial.

But, on the 2d of September, when determined murderers made a mockery of the forms of law, and chosen assassins seized the sword of justice ; when the prisoner was surrounded at his trial by pikes smoking from recent slaughter, and within hearing of the screams of those who had been just dragged from the bar where he stood ; on that dreadful day, M. Cazotte was brought before the horrid tribunal within the prison. Several prisoners had already been carried there—none had survived their short examination above two minutes !—A sign from the pretended judge, or an equivocal word, was the fatal sentence, and the blow of death followed as the prisoner was led from the bar.

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When M. Cazotte appeared — the list of names was examined by these inquisitors, no mark of favour was seen at his—the signal of death was given, and he was led out to slaughter!—But, before he received the stroke of death, his daughter, a beautiful young lady of seventeen, sprung upon her father's neck, exclaiming in a transport of terror and filial affection, Mercy! mercy! O, mercy!—my father! my father!

The grey hairs of the old man, the affecting appearance and exclamations of the young lady, arrested the arms of the assassins, and melted the hearts of the people!—The cries of Grace, grace! and Vive la Nation! were heard.—The old gentleman and his daughter were conducted in safety to the house of a friend, amidst the applause of the multitude!

This admirable young woman had never separated from her father, overcoming her

horror for a prison crowded with men; surmounting her terror, her delicacy, and every consideration which could render the situation repugnant to her mind: filial love, and a strong sense of duty, enabled her to attend him during his confinement in the Abbaye, and to administer every comfort and consolation in her power.

I wish, from my soul, that the story had ended here.

This unfortunate old man was again arrested, again imprisoned, and, in virtue of a decree of the 11th of September, brought before the tribunal which had been appointed on the 17th of August for the trial of conspirators, and whose functions had been interrupted by the massacres.

The first defence he offered was in the form of a protest against a second trial, as he had been already tried by judges constituted by the *Peuple Souverain* to examine the

guilt or innocence of the prisoners : that he had been acquitted, and set at liberty by the voice of the people, and could not be made to undergo a new trial, without insulting the sovereignty of the people, which they all professed to acknowledge.

This plea was disregarded, the trial went on; the accusation was thought to be proved, and M. Cazotte was condemned to lose his head.

Without considering the merits of the original accusation, or of the protest which the prisoner, by the advice of counsel no doubt, had entered, did not compassion and humanity plead *like angels trumpet-tongued* against his condemnation?

Let it be supposed that he deserved the pains of death — Good God ! had he not already suffered them a thousand times over? Had he not drank, to the very dregs, the bitterest cup of mortality that could be presented

sented to the lips of man? In what do the pains of death consist? not surely in the actual stroke which puts an end to reflection and feeling, but in what this most unfortunate man had already endured—in the agonies and terrors which the view of an immediate, violent, and cruel death produces in the mind.

What unfeeling hearts must they have, who, unmoved by those considerations, and the tears of his virtuous daughter, could sentence him to undergo a second time the pains of death!

The old gentleman, however, heard the sentence with a serene countenance, took a tender leave of his inimitable daughter, and went to the place of execution with unshaken courage!—He made his grey locks be cut from his head, folded them carefully, and desired that they might be delivered to her—a recollection of her sorrow alone

could disturb him ! it is said that he gave this message with a faltering voice—Then turning to the executioner, he assumed an undaunted air, and bade him do his duty.

October 4.

It is now certain that the Prussians are retreating. Dumourier has made good all the assurances he gave to the Conventional Assembly ; and that self-confidence, which was by many imputed to a vain-glorious and boasting disposition, is now thought to have proceeded from superior talents and penetration.

This news occasions universal joy in France ; yet a very sensible man told me to-day, that he thought it more than counterbalanced by the spirit of party and dissension which appears in the National Assembly. Marat has been prompting the people to new massacres ! In one of his late journals

journals there is the following passage :

“ If the basis of the constitution is not fixed within the first eight days after the meeting of the Convention, you have nothing to expect from your deputies.”—And he concludes with these significant words : “ O

peuple babillard, si tu sçavois agir !” Yet this

man is so great a favourite of the people, that the Convention seem to be afraid of ordering him to be arrested and punished.

It is astonishing how he retains their affections, for the only means he uses is, exciting one half to cut the throats of the other; yet the more people are murdered, the remainder seem to like him the better.

This brings to my remembrance a fellow I once saw sewing up the mouths of ferrets; shocked at the unfeeling manner in which he passed and repassed the needle through the poor little animal's lips, which were all flowing with blood, I desired him to desist, saying, How can you be so cruel?

Loard, Sir, replied he, it be'en't cruel;
they likes it.

Likes it!

Aye, that they does, resumed the brute;
and the more I makes them bleed, they likes
me the better.

October 5.

The great evil of the ancient government of France was, that the executive power was too strong, and all the other powers of the state too weak: so that however unjustly the former was exercised, the people had no means of redress or of resistance but by open insurrection; a measure always dangerous, and hardly ever used, except when men are rendered desperate.

The framers of the late constitution of France fell into the opposite extreme; they left the executive power too much exposed to attacks, and too unable to defend those rights and prerogatives with which the constitution endowed it: at least this was evidently

dently the case at the beginning of their new government, before the nation, which was intoxicated with the victory over despotism, had time to acquire more sedate and more rational notions concerning freedom.

Perhaps, however, that form of government which was reared by the Constituent Assembly might have stood, and, by the gradual alterations which time would have discovered to be necessary, might have been matured into a prosperous and lasting system, had it not been for the society of Jacobins. This society, by diffusing the spirit of liberty, and keeping the people of France steady to the cause of freedom, was of great service while the constitution was forming, but proved its destruction after it was formed.

Let us suppose a society as numerous as that of the Jacobins, with some members of both houses of parliament in it, established
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in Palace-yard, and that every question of a public nature was debated and decided in this club, before it was brought into either house of parliament, or while it was in agitation there; and let us farther suppose, that a mob are always ready, at the command of the leading members of this same society, to insult those of either house of parliament, of whose public conduct they disapprove; in this case, what would become of the present constitution of Great Britain?

This is precisely the state in which the legislature of France was for several months previous to the 10th of August. For the conduct of the Jacobin society in Paris tended to vilify the National Assembly, and to render the executive power a mere pageant; this had driven some of the most respectable members out of that club. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the King wished for such a check upon this society,

as would put it out of its power to arrest the action of government, and raise a fermentation in the country as often as any public measure was adopted which it disapproved: every friend of the constitution must have had the same desire. Those who had the greatest influence with the Jacobins were averse to the war, and shewed great solicitude to prevent it. There is reason to believe that the Court of Vienna did not desire war more than they; but displayed some hostile appearances, to give the King and his ministers the more weight in their endeavours to resist the attacks of that society, and to obtain a decree of the National Assembly, precluding those questions which were to be debated in the Assembly from being previously discussed in the society. The only communication which was between the Court of the Tuileries and that of Vienna, had this for its object, and nothing else; and even this communication was

was begun and carried on by certain agents, who pretended to the latter that they had more influence with the former than they had in reality, and made the same pretensions to the former respecting their influence with the latter, by which means both were deceived. But, taking this in the worst light, it is very different from the King's having an understanding with that Court, after hostilities were begun, with a view to facilitate the entrance of foreign armies into France.

There are good grounds for believing that a great majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly were sincere supporters of the constitution, and had no fear of the King's having any design to overturn it: Why then did this majority allow a minority to destroy a constitution with which they were satisfied? Because the leaders of the minority were members of the society of Jacobins, had influence with some of the sections to besiege the

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the bar of the National Assembly with inflammatory addresses against the King and his ministers, while they had a mob always ready at their instigation, to insult those deputies who supported government ; and at length, finding that they could not carry the question against M. de la Fayette, they found means to new model the general council of the municipality of Paris, excited the insurrection of the 10th of August, and usurped the whole power of the state, as has been shewn.

In other revolutions of which history gives us an account, those who are at first employed as the instruments of insurrection, are afterwards thrown aside by the chiefs as useless or dangerous ; but in this revolution in France, those who were employed as instruments retain their importance, and the chiefs are thrown aside.

The Lameths, and M. Duport, who first proposed the plan of establishing political societies

societies all over France, which maintain a constant correspondence with the Jacobin society at Paris, have fallen victims to that measure.

The Duke of Rochefoucault, M. la Fayette, Barnave, Talleyrand, Lewis of Narbonne, M. Beaumetz, Garnier, Clermont-Tonnere, were all instrumental in bringing about the revolution, prompted, as there is every reason to believe, by a genuine love of freedom, and a sincere desire of establishing a limited monarchy in France, and of maintaining that constitution for which some of them had made very great sacrifices. What is become of these men? Some have been assassinated, some imprisoned, and the rest obliged to fly from their country.

Condorcet, Buzot, Brissot, Petion, Kersaint, Genfonet, Bonnaville, shewed an early partiality for a republican form of government, either from a belief that it is preferable to any other, or from a suspicion that
the

the King would not rest satisfied with the constitution, but use all the powers it left in his hand to restore the ancient despotism. Acting on this suspicion as if it were a certainty, they used every means in their power to give their countrymen the same partiality for a commonwealth which they had themselves; and, among other means, they did not scruple to accuse the King of plots for overturning the constitution, of which they had not better proof, perhaps, than the idea that it was natural for him to wish it overturned.

Vergniaud and Gaudet, both men of distinguished talents, were originally friends to a limited monarchy as established by the constitution, as appears by a memorial signed by them, and presented to the King; but having a better opinion of the republican party than any other in the Assembly, they joined them after the 10th of August, and have acted with them ever since.

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This party, however, had no immediate active hand in exciting or carrying on the attack upon the palace on the 10th of August ; they seem to have waited for the event, in the intention of establishing their favourite form of government in case the assailants should be successful, and to afford them protection in a contrary event.

The most active agents of the insurrection, were, Albite, Bazire, Camille Desmoulins, Merlin of Thionville, and, above all, Chabot the capuchin, who were continually going to the different suburbs, and preaching revolt among the people. These men were members of the Jacobin society, assisted in this work by other members, particularly Santerre, and the leader of the fédérés from Marseilles. M. Barbaroux, who was since chosen a deputy from Marseilles to the Convention, and who had great influence with the band of fédérés, was also a most active agent in the insurrection,

tion, though otherwise unconnected with Danton's party, and intimately attached to the friends of Roland.

It appears somewhat surprising, that while those just named were instigating the people to attack the palace of the Tuileries ; while Danton, Chabot, Collot d'Herbois, and others, were new-modelling the general council of the commune ; and while Gaudet and Vergniaud were presiding alternately in the Assembly, during the alarming and dangerous night of the 9th and morning of the 10th of August, there is no mention of Roberespierre. He had been, however, the chief personage in the society of Jacobins for several months before that epoch ; but he did not judge it proper to appear again till the affair was decided by the slaughter of the Swiss, and the imprisonment of the Royal Family. He then resumed his place at the Jacobin club, and soon after got himself elected of the general council of the

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municipality,

municipality, of which he became a leading member; and, in conjunction with Panis, Servan, and Le Gendre the butcher, was most assiduous in promoting the numerous arrests, and filling the prisons, which were dreadfully emptied at the beginning of September.

But, as the republican party had still less connection with the massacres of September than with the insurrection in August; as they express a desire of enquiring into that horrid transaction, and of bringing the authors to punishment; and as they are all attached to the minister Roland, of whose integrity they are convinced; Danton, Chabot, Merlin, Camille Desmoulins, Collot d'Herbois, Bazire, Albite, and Robespierre, declare against them, excite Marat to proscribe them in his bloody journal, and use every means to expose them to the fury of the people: M. Egalité himself, perceiving that those means are already attended with
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some degree of success, and probably imagining that it will increase, seems inclined to attach himself to the party of Danton, Robespierre, and their followers. So that very possibly those who took so much and such early pains to establish a republic, and who expected, no doubt, to act a principal part in it when established, may, like those who brought on the revolution, and formed the constitution, be supplanted and deprived of power, perhaps of life, by a set of men far inferior to them in talents, but who seem at present to enjoy more of the people's favour. Thus, through all the stages of this revolution, those who have been the authors of the most important alterations, whether for the better or the worse, have been supplanted by inferior agents; because, having obtained their object by flattering the people, they then wish the hands of government to be strengthened, the laws to be put in force, and the future exertions of those to be re-

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strained,

strained, by whom they obtained their power. But other demagogues start up, who, having no part in the new government, tell the people that many improvements are still needed; that their new governors, under the pretence of restoring law and order, want to tyrannize over them. —They adopt some favourite prejudice of the people, and offer them some new privilege, however pernicious, which has been hitherto refused, and so gain their confidence; for, those who promise new favours have a great advantage over those who put men in mind of old ones, and an harangue in praise of licentiousness pleases the multitude more than one which inculcates obedience to law.

Thus the second class of leaders are driven out of power by a third, who, on the same principles, may soon be excluded by a fourth: but le Peuple Souverain retains the power, and, although divided into different

ferent parts, like the polypus, every detached portion preserves its activity, and assumes all the faculties and energy of the complete sovereign.

If the present state of affairs continues much longer, anarchy and confusion must overwhelm the land; and it will be of little importance to wretched individuals, whether their misery is derived from a combination of foreign invaders, or their own internal dissensions.

But as a National Convention, from all the departments of France, is now assembled at Paris, and as another very unexpected event has likewise taken place, namely, the retreat of the Prussian army, it might be imagined that a permanent and free government would still be established. It must be confessed, however, that the account we hear of some of the deputies does not greatly support this expectation: those elected by the department of Paris, in particular,

are neither celebrated for talents, nor for that degree of moderation and prudence which the times require; and many augur ill of the wisdom of the Convention, from the precipitate manner in which they agreed to the abolition of the constitution, and of royalty, on the first day of meeting, at the proposition of a man of little or no weight. Yet, on the measures which this Conventional Assembly, such as it is, shall adopt, the fate of the extensive and populous nation of France, perhaps the tranquillity of Europe, seems in a considerable degree to depend: this consideration excites so strong a desire of being witnesses to their proceedings, that we have resolved to set out to-morrow for Paris, through part of French Flanders, by the way of Lille.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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